FORUM

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Little protection is afforded the delinquent

The Child in Court

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WE provide pathetically little protection for our children when we consider the generous concern that Americans are presumed to accord them. If we investigate the facilities available to protect the child, vast gaps appear where real needs remain wholly neglected. Impotent and partial gestures do little more than soothe the well-meaning, part-time conscience of a public that is solicitous, to be sure, but preoccupied with other more tangible matters than child welfare.

During the war our delinquency rates, already high, grew tremendously for both boys and girls. There was an increase of from 50 per cent to 100 per cent in serious felony charges against boys under 18, and of nearly 200 per cent against girls of similar age. The citizen wrings his hands in anxiety over the problem but thus far has failed to come to grips with it. Today we are confronted by the sinister spectacle of these neglected delinquents grown to the stature of adult criminals. They, together with young incorrigibles returning from war service, trained in the crafts of aggression, threaten criminal depredations in our generation beyond anything we have known.

It is a costly price we pay for our casual attitude of *laissez-faire* toward human problems. We have a strong tradition of self-help which often spells group neglect: the family should care for its own. Intervention, save for tiding over the most dire financial need, is repugnant, even insolent. And where a hesitant hand is offered to the needy, it should be—in our tradition—that of a relative, friend or neighbor.

Only very recently in our urban society has the need become apparent for the political community to take a large and official rôle in preventing and treating the problems which threaten, if relegated to the sporadic attention of private care, to contaminate the entire social organization. The necessity for public aid has met an intense and organized resistance: the virile tradition of self help entrenched in the taxpayer's mind; the vested interests of private agency and church, vigorously re-

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sentful of any encroachment of public authority upon their domain; the state itself where politicians resist expenditure for the imponderables of social welfare. To a large extent, governmental interest in welfare problems has been necessitated by the inadequacy of other community resources. The last great depression and its aftermath of New Dealism provided a special impetus to political conscientiousness and intervention.

The juvenile court movement is less than 50 years old. Until 1899, when experimental tribunals for children were set up in Denver and Chicago, the conduct problems of the young were normally either neglected or brought before the ordinary criminal courts of the day for the punitive treatment of fines and incarceration. There was a sudden flowering of statutes to establish children's courts, but not until 30 years ago did all states save Maine and Wyoming have juvenile court laws with provision for probation. It was 1938 before a federal act was passed for this purpose.

The formal record of legislative enactments is far more favorable, however, than the actual facts warrant, for good intentions have been more common than fair implementation. To a great extent, the juvenile courts established were merely special sessions of courts, some civil but many criminal, which already existed. Only lip service was paid to the ideal of real separation in handling and treatment. This is still the characteristic situation, even under modern children's courts statutes. District, circuit, county, magistrate and police courts, with their non-specialized personnel and facilities, still try to deal with the subtle and complicated problems of child behavior in most counties of the United States. The procedures of these juvenile courts—even the better, more specialized ones—leave much to be desired. Only a small minority meet even the minimum, very moderate, standards recommended by the federal Children's Bureau as long ago as 1918.

In New York City, some pride is assumed in the welfare provisions for its more than seven million people. Indeed, facilities are more adequate there than in most communities. Yet the city possessed no court for juveniles, separate from the criminal court system, until 1923. It now employs a set of tribunals for children independent of the criminal and civil courts, linked with the Family Division in the Domestic Relations Court. But the protection of special personnel and individualized treatment is provided only through the age of 15. The same limitation may be found in nearly one-half of the state today! Some adolescent courts serve a minority of youngsters to the age of 18 or 19, but virtually all youths over the age of 17 in the United States today are processed through the mill of our traditional criminal court procedure: arrest, jail detention, preliminary hearing in police court, indictment, public trial and punishment along with hardened, habitual offenders.

The picture is even more bleak as we look at the facilities provided for the special care of children. In spite

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of the higher standards in New York City, it may serve well to illustrate the problem. There, as elsewhere, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has for many years provided detention facilities for court cases as well as investigation and "case work" services. The scandals of 1943—neglect and brutal mistreatment in the Manhattan Children's Center of the S.P.C.C.—revealed the abuses of an undertrained and understaffed punitive agency which, though it received a greater part of its funds from the city (as do many of the other private agencies servicing the Court), successfully resisted for years any imposition of public standards of care or even official inspection. Until late 1945, many boys even below the age of 16, for whom no private facilities were provided, were sent to jail to await a hearing in court and, after adjudication, might spend weeks or months in the Tombs before they could be admitted to one of the state's overcrowded reformatories.

The stigma, contamination and immorality experienced through jail detention is no novelty in the treatment of our youth. Literally thousands of children suffer each year from the demoralizing consequences of our failure to provide adequate public resources for the separate detention of our young in decent surroundings under the care of well-trained staffs. Associations are endured by blameless boys and girls, many of whom are later released without adjudication because of their apparent innocence of any offence, from which they can never recover. The smallest injury sustained in detention is generally the idleness, apathy and anxiety which pervade the private custodial shelter. In innumerable small communities in the United States, however, there is no alternative provision to the foul and filthy county jails.

These comments by Elliot Ness, director of the Division of Social Protection, Office of Community War Services, are symptomatic of our careless disregard for youth:

> Last month I was in a jail full of "free stuff." They were all 17 years old or younger. All had syphilis or gonorrhea. All were service men's "pick-ups". All had infected at least one man. That's why they were in jail. The men they had infected were in hospitals.
>
> I won't forget that jail soon. It stank. It was filthy. The room where the girls were held had two double beds and three single beds, with putrid matresses and no sheets. The girls slept three in the double beds; two each in the single beds. There were two small, barred windows and a pail of water. These girls were in jail for being the "free stuff" service men brag about. . . .
>
> There are hundreds of jails no better or worse than the one I saw —hundreds of jails with hundreds of girls in them. There are not more than 30 hospitals in the entire United States where such girls can get good medical care and be treated like human beings.
>
> Yes, plenty of them are tough babes, but just as many are fool kids who deserve a lot better in life than sickness, filth and premature old age.

Brought to a hearing after detention or parole, the child is treated to one of a charming diversity of influences. Depending on the juris-

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diction, he may come before a lay magistrate, a police judge or a seasoned justice. Only in the most exceptional circumstances will he be dealt with by a lawyer-judge, concerned to insure to him his full procedural rights, who has also been trained in the social disciplines from which an understanding of behavior problems and therapy come. The sociological jurist is a rare phenomenon. Some judges, however, have learned to deal soundly with the child through the tutoring of experience in years of specialization. In New York City, a child may be arraigned before such a well-trained, specialized and adequately paid justice. Some of the best fitted children's court judges in the country are on New York City's bench.

Assuming optimum circumstances in the judiciary, a children's court must rest to a great extent upon the shoulders of its probation department. This requires a sufficiently large staff to make social investigations of the cases which come before the court and to do a thorough-going job of rehabilitative supervision. Such a staff, if it is to function effectively, must have professional training and standards. It must have sufficient time to perform its varied and specialized case-work functions. It must be adequately paid.

Again consider New York where probation has fared better than in most other states. The children's courts of the city have been provided with a separate probation staff with relatively high standards of competence. Yet, as the Seabury Committee reported in 1942, in its investigation of probation in New York City, "in the Children's Court there is little field work supervision of children on probation. Because of the large volume of work, the little time that the officer can spend in the field and the preference that is given to the investigation work the probation supervision is inadequate. Probation supervision consists primarily of reports by the children and the handling of emergency situations. . . . There is, without question, inadequate direction, control and supervision of the probation staff in this Department. . . . In the children's part, the investigations are also inadequate. These investigations are also primarily made in the office as the officers, under the most favorable circumstances, have only two full days a week in the field to make investigations." In some counties of the state, no probation officers at all are available for the children's cases.

Thus probation, so fine in theory becomes an empty, pious gesture in practice. Trained, adept and tireless workers are supposed to be recruited at paltry wages appreciably lower than those offered the street cleaner, the prison guard, the fireman, the policeman—lower than in some criminal courts of the City. Only in very recent years are some of the untrained, now antiquated recipients of party patronage giving way to a younger and more vital staff. However, well-trained, ambitious case-workers seek employment more rewarding and less frustrating than that of the children's court. Strangely, a favorite policy of the LaGuardia regime, even dur-

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ing the war crisis of burgeoning delinquency, was the reduction of probation budgets, the elimination of "unnecessary" expenditures for professional personnel.

COURT PROCEDURES

In a majority of cases, the child is brought into court upon the petition of a parent, sometimes under arrest by a policeman. The charge of delinquency must be supported by allegations which meet in some measure the requirements of the statutory definitions of delinquency. Under the existing laws, it is generally a simple matter for the complainant to fit the defendant into the statutory specifications. For it would be difficult indeed to find elsewhere in our law, standards of conduct that are so loosely drawn. In two jurisdictions, California and the District of Columbia, there is no definition at all. Apparently the court may adjudge and punish whom it will. Generally, however, delinquency is described in the vaguest of terms, such as, "a child who by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient is uncontrolled by his parent, guardian or custodian. A child who habitually so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or others."

These norms have been formulated in accordance with the prevailing conception of the children's court as a chancery device, a socialized tribunal, to protect the child under broad statutory terms and with wide discretionary powers. But, as Roscoe Pound has noted, these courts have an authority subject to abuses greater than those perpetrated by the Star Chamber in its days of barbaric justice. In the private hearings of the juvenile court, mothers, disavowing all responsibility and affection for their hapless spawn, will complain of the child's lack of obedience or respect—no matter how little they may merit respect—or allege wayward misconduct when the child's behavior is thoroughly normal. Often the court is easily induced to adjudicate.

Sweigert in *The San Francisco Chronicle*
"CROSSROADS"

The particular complaint of the parent is of no great moment in any event, for in the extra-legal and informal procedures which our children's courts have evolved, mere misconduct is generally assumed to be of no importance: it is the child's "problem" which must be sought out and treated. Often the problem is assumed in advance to exist by very reason of the child's presence in court. Then an overworked and undertrained emissary of the probation department is dispatched to dis-

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cover all the "circumstances responsible for the child's appearance in court and his social history," and to report thereon to the Court. By the wierdest gymnastic of rationalization, this officer is deemed to be an equivalent of legal counsel and friend to the child.

Thus, by a few bold, but perverted, strokes of genius in the administrative alteration of due process, the child comes to be denied in effect his normal rights to a clear and definite charge, to the protection of counsel and to the exclusion of hearsay evidence. The probation officer reports from her cursory gleanings of neighborhood gossip, calumny, and misanthropy that the child is indeed a problem and should be treated by the court for the protection of himself and the community. If there is no probation officer to investigate and report, the same result may come about simply from the biased statements of a parent or neighbor.

AFTER ADJUDICATION

The child is adjudicated ineradicably to the status of juvenile delinquent and exposed usually either to what is euphemistically known as "rehabilitative probationary guidance" or training school treatment. The choice will often depend, what with the too-casual attitude of official acquiescence to private pressure, upon the demand of the parent. If the latter wills to be free of responsibility or expense, he will often find the court cooperative in making commitment for an indeterminate, usually long-extended, period. The judge may be swayed by other considerations in the disposition he makes of the case: his own private ideas of treatment, his social predilections, his religious and ethical attitudes—or those of the probation officer assigned to the child. He will often be moved by therapeutically irrelevant but practically important considerations of space available in the commitment institutions. If they are overcrowded, as they usually are in late years, the child may be left at liberty under probation. If the probation staff groans under the load of its cases, he may well be sent away.

Commitment to a training school or a jail, though a very common disposition, is a most unfortunate resort in the treatment of the child. At their rare best, such institutions are little more than custodial in function, protecting the public from the immediate threat of the delinquent, but ruining him through the contaminating associations, experiences and stigma which such incarceration implies. In spite of the optimism which was evoked a few decades ago in the growth of specialized correctional institutions for the young, experience has shown with irrefragible clarity that the "training school" trains chiefly for habitual criminality. The eminent criminologists, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, have conducted extended investigations in a 15-year follow-up study of 510 offenders committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory. Of these, only 140 were discovered to have become non-delinquent at some time during the 15-year span and to have remained so to the end of that

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period. Among the 27 per cent apparently reformed, many merely "grew out of" their delinquencies through maturing into adulthood. Others might have done so if they had not been exposed to institutional confinement.

That our brief description of the hazards faced by our problem is no burlesque travesty upon the actual procedures applied to them is attested again and again in case histories. Observe this summary of complaints, collected by Austin L. Porterfield in his study of juvenile courts:

> Annetta found some whiskey at home and got drunk at the age of seven. Arnold stole some extract from a neighbor. His mother said, "Send him to the training school." Sarge whips his sisters. Cap stays out till midnight. J. E. and J. B. fight one another. Alvin stole his mother's stove and sold it. Melvin stole a pig from his father, who prevailed upon the juvenile court to commit him to the training school at the age of 15. An alcoholic parent complains that his daughter is sassy. A boy strikes his alcoholic grandfather with a rock. Another is abusive to his mother and sister . . . Jerry had a tantrum during which he jerked the telephone off the wall.

Porterfield compared the childhood behavior of college men and women with those of the offenders brought before juvenile court. He discovered that the average man reported committing, in pre-college days, 17.6 of the 55 offenses which had brought less fortunate children into court. Each average college woman had committed 4.7 of these offenses.

In a small minority of cities, facilities exist which partially mitigate the abuses which near-unlimited court discretion allows. Where there are numerous social agencies to deal preventively and curatively with family problems, many cases which otherwise would be shunted into juvenile court are treated more effectively by the case-work organizations. There are, however, wide gaps where no such facilities exist to care for the problems of certain groups. An individual's particular race, religion, age, sex, physical or mental condition, or conduct problem, may foreclose him from specialized and intensive treatment simply because the philanthropic resources of the community have not been developed to serve him. Further difficulties in the rehabilitation of the young arise out of the characteristic unwillingness of most private organizations to cooperate with public facilities—particularly the courts. Many social agencies, through the limitations imposed by their intake policies, exclude assistance to any child who has had court contact. Thus is created an unfair distinction between the "bad bad" boy who has been to court and the "good-bad" boy who quite fortuitously may have been spared that experience.

It is difficult to enlist the cooperation of the prima donnas of social work, but the experience of Los Angeles in its integration of agencies appears to indicate the feasibility of channelizing children's cases into the treatment facilities which most precisely meet their individual requirements.

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One type of agency provision may be of special value in dealing with deviant children—the psychiatric clinic, wherein careful diagnosis of individual problems is made by well-trained specialists in behavior. The clinic may prescribe rehabilitative treatment much more expertly than can the ordinary probation officer or case worker, and within the limitations of available community resources, encourage improved methods in dealing with the delinquent. Such a clinic, the Judge Baker Guidance Center in Boston, has functioned well for a number of years in servicing children from the courts there. In New York City, the Bureau of Child Guidance of the Board of Education provides a staff of psychiatrists and social workers to deal with problem cases discovered in the schools. To an extent limited by its budget, it assists in court cases. Elsewhere, as in Worcester, Dayton, and other communities, psychiatric clinics have been established independent of court or school. They assist in a considerable number of cases of adjudicated delinquents where psychological difficulties are discovered. Much might be accomplished in the prevention and treatment of delinquency by the wider spread of psychiatric clinics to assist juvenile courts. This is especially true as such clinics are coming to broaden their approach, to consider social problems as well as psychological ones in the deviant child.

Let us consider, in summary, the more important steps which should be taken.

1. Keep the child out of court unless his adjudication is necessary to protect him or the community.
2. Toward this end, encourage the growth of social agency facilities, private and public, to supply services where unfilled needs now exist.
3. Where agencies provide welfare services of a custodial or corrective nature, they should be under the scrutiny of the state and subject to its minimum standards.
4. The child should be adjudicated by the juvenile court only after some clear-cut and significant offense, violative of important community interests, has been proved.
5. In a court proceeding where the defendant risks extended incarceration or other official treatment, his rights under the due process of law should be assured: the right to a definite charge, to counsel, to witnesses in his behalf, a real opportunity to be heard.
6. The court requires an adequate staffing of expertly-trained, well-paid judges and case workers. It should have, as well, the services of a well implemented psychiatric clinic.
7. The court should have a uniform, consistent policy of rehabilitating, not punishing, the child.
8. It should incarcerate either for short detention or longer term commitment only when clearly necessary to protect the community: this generally in cases of older boys who have failed after being given a chance under a good system of probation.
9. The upper age limit for the jurisdiction of juvenile courts should be raised to 18 in the states where it is lower than that.

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We cannot avoid the boom

Boom and Bust?

By Colston E. Warne

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AMERICA is rapidly approaching a head-on collision between labor and industry with the downfall of the administration's stabilization program. For four years, both wages and prices remained under the control of Washington. Under the pressure of war-time patriotism, the system up to V-J Day worked, on the whole, satisfactorily. Save for a few instances, labor did not strike. Price levels were held far more successfully than during any previous war. Inequities were adjusted under the guidance of federal agencies—in the case of wages, the War Labor Board; and in the case of prices, the O. P. A.

This system was weakened a year ago and has now utterly collapsed. The Price Control Act was emasculated by Congress in July, and hope of stabilization was finally abandoned by the administration in the Presidential speech of October 15. The cost of living is skyrocketing with the disappearance of food controls. Beset by rising living costs, unionists are demanding that their contracts be reopened and that wage increases be granted.

These disputes are germinating in a most extraordinary setting of expanding production. Everywhere shortages are still apparent, especially in basic materials. Industry clamors for workers. The nation's fear that the reconversion period would be one of extreme unemployment was fortunately unfounded.

The basic clash is over the need for increasing the existing scales of wages. Briefly put, labor makes the following claims:

(1) That prices have so outstripped wages with the removal of price controls that the justice of a wage increase should be apparent to all;

(2) That the real income of workers, as measured by their purchasing power, must keep well ahead of prices if the flood of goods is to continue to be absorbed and prosperity maintained. In other words, no nation can produce 75 per cent more goods than in the pre-war period if standards of living do not move up correspondingly.

(3) That the removal of price controls is a deliberate plot on the part of manufacturers and large agriculturists to deflate the buying power of wages and to reap high profits. Labor is of the opinion that monopolistic price controls by business men are speedily being substituted for the reign of O.P.A.

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Meanwhile, business is exceedingly distrustful of the labor movement and points to a lowering of labor productivity, to the constant strikes and to the threats of strikes. Industry looks ahead toward a dismal future, especially after the force of pent-up demand has spent itself. Throughout business circles, one encounters the feeling that labor's demands would so narrow profit levels that production would be impaired or, alternatively, that rising wages will only speed the price spiral. An advance of the wage rate is considered impossible. This pessimism finds reflection in lowered stock prices and in a growing awareness that a showdown between these strong contestants is near at hand.

What, then, appears sound as a national policy in the wage-price field? Is there any way out of the current impasses of sky-rocketing prices, rising wages, rising costs and rising profits? Must the nation go through a period of "boom and bust?" Or is there some alternative? In discussing this issue, it seems well to sketch the recent history of our wage and price policies and to see whether there exists ground for greater optimism than seems apparent on the surface.

This year, 1946, has already broken all strike records. Few basic industries have been exempt. Autos, steel, electrical equipment, railways, shipping, telephones, telegraph, coal and copper—these are but a few of the fields in which disputes have been paralyzing in their effect. Restlessness has spread to include even traditionally quiescent groups. Strikes have spread to hotels, power companies, offices, building service employees and even to Wall Street clerks.

Congressmen last Spring scurried to introduce bills to stop strikes and to curb labor activities. One of these, the Case Bill, was passed last May, aided by the resentment felt by the legislators. It was vetoed by the President and failed of re-enactment. Even the drastic proposal of President Truman to outlaw strikes for a period would doubtless have been enacted had not Republican senators seen the opportunity to make political capital at the President's expense in an election year. Unquestionably, drastic legislation will be the first item on the agenda of the new Congress which convenes in January.

It is exceedingly easy for Congress and American businessmen to damn labor for its behavior and to ask that all strikes be outlawed. On the surface, labor appears unruly and unwilling to cooperate as it had in the war period. Labor leaders seem grasping. Most public polls suggest a general desire to place curbs on labor's freedom. The current popular feeling is that the nation's productivity is being seriously hampered by demands for wage increases which, when secured, are only translated into higher prices which so advance living costs that labor's gains are quickly erased.

This current opinion is, unfortunately, both superficial and fallacious. It fails to probe the true reason why labor has so insistently fought and is today fighting for higher wages or even to discover the basis for the stubborn unwilling-

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ness of manufacturers to grant such increased scales as have already been obtained. It ignores the responsibility of those manufacturers and their Congressional allies who succeeded in removing price and production controls too quickly after V-J day. We are paying the price for having heeded the voice of those who wished a "free enterprise system" in a period of extreme inflationary pressure.

It could, indeed, well be argued that reconversion required a stiffening instead of a relaxation of the powers of war-time agencies in order to insure that there be no scramble for labor and materials and no spiralling of prices. That sane course was ignored. It is now too late to retrace our steps. The O. P. A. will, save for rent control, disappear on January 1, 1947, in most of its remaining fields of control. Basic commodity prices have already advanced more in three months than they had in the preceding three years. The cost of food has risen so sharply as to endanger any attempt at stabilization. We seem well launched on a spiral resembling that of 1919 and 1920, when the cost of living mounted to a level more than double that existing before World War I.

While it is a bit futile to recount this tragedy of errors, the record should be made clear. Four major mistakes were made:

(1) Under business pressure, Congress quickly repealed the excess profits tax and amended the corporation tax law to allow business a "carry-back, carry-forward" clause which permitted a rebating of taxes by averaging war-time gains and any post-war losses during a two-year period. By thus easing the tax situation in business, not only was inflation invited, but industrialists were placed in a position where they could, at minimum cost, resist wage advances. This they did last spring and will do so again. (2) By liquidating the War Production Board and substituting an exceedingly weak Civilian Production Administration, Congress removed any semblance of order from the reconversion process. Raw materials are just not available in sufficient quantity in any major field. Factories are often operating at only a fraction of their capacity and at high cost because of the diffused materials which are either unavailable or accumulated at the wrong points in excessive inventories.

Herblock in *The Washington Post*
"CAN'T READ THIS NEXT LINE?"

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(3) By weakening price control at the insistence of business and agriculture, Congress guaranteed run-away prices, featured by strikes of producers against remaining segments of the price control structure. O. P. A. could not withstand the pressure. As Chester Bowles often stated, a creeping inflation is impossible to administer.

(4) By thus refusing to establish a definitive national price policy, Congress guaranteed that no wage policy could be held. It should have been clear a year ago that no national wage stabilization formula could long endure if the price line were not stoutly held. Unquestionably, the wage formula worked out in General Motors and steel last spring was a reasonably sound one. To secure its acceptance, however, labor had to engage in extensive and costly strikes with considerable loss of good-will and income. All of labor's gains and more have already been wiped out by the failure of price control to be held. Little wonder that labor strikes.

STEELMAN REPORT

The Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, John Steelman, presented a most optimistic but misleading report to the nation on October 1, 1946. He indicated that unemployment rose only moderately while nine million men were being demobilized from the armed forces and that it is now less than three million. New construction has risen spectacularly and has now crossed the billion-dollar-per-month mark. The output of durable goods has shown marked gains: electric irons are 130 per cent of the 1940 level, vacuum cleaners, 125 per cent; passenger tires, 120 per cent; electric ranges, 120 per cent; washing machines, 120 per cent and radios, 115 per cent. Refrigerators and passenger autos lag behind with production only 60 per cent of 1940.

In food fields, Director Steelman estimated that the 1946 per capita consumption would be greater than that of 1941, with increases in such fields as meat, milk, eggs, fresh and canned vegetables. With the bumper crops of 1946, current food shortages were attributed to high-level purchasing power.

The composite index of industrial productivity had, by August, 1946, brought a physical volume of goods 75 per cent above the level of 1935 to 1939 and almost equalled the level on V-J day. Profits, after taxes, Steelman contends, are at an all-time high in excess of 10 billion dollars. The Federal budget is approaching a balance for the first time in many years, despite large continuing military costs.

Estimates of income payments have also reached an all-time high, with civilian salaries and wages topping the hundred-billion-dollar-mark. Savings, while narrowed somewhat by taxes, and by the availability of consumer goods, are still substantial. In the light of this performance, the record-breaking level of strikes appears of scant significance in its effect upon output. To be sure, in early 1946, four per cent of available working time was lost in industrial disputes. By midsummer, this had tapered down to less than one-half of 1 per cent and

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the year's output seemed but slightly curtailed, even where the strikes were most protracted.

Mr. Steelman's report, unfortunately, reflects the situation in a period of lull before the impending storm. Labor had won its 18 cent an hour advance in major industries and the effect of the disappearance of effective price control was not fully catalogued in the statistics. One point by Mr. Steelman, however, is worthy of considerable emphasis. The hours of work in the summer of 1946 had receded from the war-time level of 45 hours to 39 hours, thus lopping off the remunerative overtime pay which had permitted many families to balance their budgets. Meanwhile, hourly earnings had risen from an average of 69 cents in 1941 to $1.09 in 1946. Consequently, though weekly earnings had dropped from a peak war-time level of $47.00 to $43.00 in 1946, this decline was not as sharp as the decline in hours worked. However, the rise in consumer prices and taxation had, as Mr. Steelman well states, driven real wages to the lowest point since early war years. This tabulation, which does not take into account the subsequent sharp price advances, shows the pressure which causes trade unionists to drive for higher wages. All food, except sugar, syrup and rice, has now been decontrolled. The consumer price index mounted between February and September, 1946, from 129 to 144 and is also continuing its rapid upward course, led by the prices of meats, fats and oils. The Truman message of October 15 promised speedy decontrol in many other fields, an action which will undoubtedly cause the price index to go well beyond the 150 mark before the year's end. Since, in February, 1946, the wage adjustment was intended to equalize the rise in living cost to that date, it is clear that labor must secure an advance in wages of very nearly another 20 per cent if it is to hold its own in the face of advancing living costs. That appears to be the current program of organized workers.

COUNSEL OF DESPAIR

Many business commentators, such as the *New York Journal of Commerce,* are today counselling labor not to press for higher wages. Such groups underline the futility of the race. Mounting wages mean mounting prices and subsequent deflation and unemployment. Such groups would ask workers to pay current costs, take up a notch in their belts and to work hard, hoping that added productivity would presently reverse the upward trend. These advisers have no enviable record as friends of labor, nor are they without a personal interest in the distribution of income. Their advice seems especially strange at the present stage in our economic development. The rising productivity brought about by war-expanded industries makes it necessary for us to consume vastly more goods if all workers are to be fully employed in the years ahead. If workers are to share proportionately in this rising living standard, they certainly ought not to have their take-home pay curtailed by wages that lag behind prices.

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Yet, on the other hand, wages do raise business costs. Even though one may discount the manufacturer's plea that a 20 per cent rise in wages will bring a 20 per cent rise in prices as greatly exaggerated, there is truth in the assertion that wages are the largest single component of prices and that considerably higher levels of wage cost will be passed on to consumers.

To some extent, the manufacturers now organizing against wage increases have a slightly Marxian tinge to their logic. They lead one to the conclusion that business cannot afford higher wages at the very moment when the only long-run way for business to survive and sell its expanded output is to have greatly augmented worker purchasing power. Profits have never been adequately forthcoming in periods of low-level income. Nor have businesses demonstrated in a boom period a tendency to raise consumption by lowering prices.

Brute economic strength will undoubtedly determine the new level of wages. In coming months, employers have several distinct advantages. They have large war-time surpluses which will allow them to stop output for a considerable period without incurring overwhelming losses. Meanwhile, most workers have largely exhausted their savings. Manufacturers have on their side the strong public sentiment against strikes, which may find effective expression in the next Congress in anti-labor legislation.

On the side of labor are forces more powerful than those of manufacturers. Real wages have been sharply cut by mounting food and clothing prices. The resultant cut in living standard will not be accepted without long and bitter struggles. Unless suitable adjustments are made, our economy will be so paralyzed by crippling strikes that the government will be forced to intervene on the side of labor, if employers are unwilling to make a compromise. No government settlement could fail to take account of the great advance in living costs, which has been the primary basis for adjustment of pay rates during the war period. Unionism has now more than 14 million members and in a period of rising prices, will have many more converts from groups previously untouched by a labor philosophy. Organizations embracing so large a portion of the nation's work force cannot be written off as clamoring for an unfair share of national income.

To those American manufacturers and Congressmen who wished to take the lid off prices to see whether, as alleged, inflation and strife were really in Pandora's box, one can only express the hope that the present costly lesson will long be remembered.

We are caught in the upward spiral. It is now "boom and bust." Strong consumer organization seems about the only way in which lower and middle income groups can make their voices heard. The group which fought for stabilization are now founding the National Association of Consumers which is seeking the affiliation of the hundreds of urban consumer councils which have sprung up across the nation.

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The Labor party wins

Australia's Post-War Election

By Louise Overacker

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Australia's postwar political scene surprisingly resembles our own. The issues of the recent election have a too-familiar ring: strikes, "Communism" in the Labor unions, housing, coal—the "sick" industry, free enterprise vs. controlled economy, tax reduction, "turn the rascals out".

Miss Overacker has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to make a study of the Australian party system. FORUM presents this study of the Australian election as a basis for comparison that may prove profitable in solving our postwar political problems and give us some needed perspective.

IN Australia's first post-war election, the Labor party won a convincing victory. For the first time in the nation's history, a Commonwealth Labor government, supported in a peace-time election with clear-cut majorities in both houses of Parliament, is in a position to carry into effect a peace-time program.

The death of John Curtin in July, 1945, was a serious loss to the nation and the Labor party, but the transfer of leadership to new hands marked no radical change in policy and occasioned no disharmony in the parliamentary ranks. Mr. J. B. Chifley, who succeeded Mr. Curtin as leader of the party and Prime Minister, had been his closest associate in the cabinet and was generally held to be very close to him in thought. Mr. Chifley had held the difficult portfolio of Minister of Finance during the Curtin administration, a post which he continued to hold after he became Prime Minister. No cabinet reorganization followed the change in leadership, and in the recent campaign Labor emphasized the five years of continuity of policy under the "Curtin-Chifley" government.

The previous administration had carried the war to a successful conclusion and was unusually successful in maintaining a stable national economy during the war and immediately after. At the same time, it carried through a series of measures aimed at long-range problems. Among the more controversial were a pharmaceutical benefits act providing for free medicines, invalidated by the High Court; legislation eliminating the Common-

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wealth Bank Board's control over credit, designed to facilitate the use of credit in carrying out future public works programs; the establishment of a government interstate air line; a wheat stabilization plan under which producers of this important crop were guaranteed a minimum price over the next five years; a federal-state housing program; and a Coal Industry Act, which, with the cooperation of the state of New South Wales, would create a board with extensive powers over a very "sick" industry. In the field of foreign policy, there was an orientation of Labor party policy away from "isolationism" to active participation and leadership in international affairs. A resolution passed by the Federal Conference of the Labor party after the election of 1943 opened the way for Mr. Curtin to take the initiative in arranging a meeting with the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and to visit England and the United States in the interest of a unified war and post-war policy. Dr. Evatt's part in shaping the organization and policies of the United Nations is too well known to call for elaboration here.

Since 1943, however, all has not been peace and harmony within the ranks of the Labor party or of the trade unions which are affiliated with it. The end of the war sharpened the industrial conflict and there were serious work stoppages, demands for a 40-hour week, a reconsideration of the basic wage and dissatisfaction with the arbitration system. The activity of Communists in key unions, especially in New South Wales and Victoria, was a constant source of friction. At a time when the Labor party and the unions should have been framing post-war programs, much of their energy was expended in fighting the Communists within their ranks. The most serious work stoppages were among the coal miners, ironworkers and waterside workers, in all of which Communist influence is strong. With the end of the war, the Labor party was once more free to implement its avowed socialist objective, and "left wing" members began pressing for action in that direction. Another divisive force, not unrelated to those already mentioned, was sectarianism. The so-called "Catholic Action," which is strongly anti-Communist, anti-socialist, and generally conservative in viewpoint, was a power to be reckoned with in some areas.

LIBERAL PARTY

The organization of the Liberal party stemmed from widespread dissatisfaction with the United Australia party and an insistent demand that the non-labor opposition be consolidated into a single party with a more positive and less "anti-Labor" program. Following the *debacle* of 1943, the uneasy parliamentary alliance between the United Australia party (U. A. P.) and the United Country party (U. C. P.) was dissolved. Mr. Fadden, who had led the combined U.A.P.-U.C.P. Opposition, continued as leader of the Country party. In the U.A.P., Mr. W. M. Hughes the former leader, stepped down, making way for Mr. R. G. Man-

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zies, who automatically became leader of the Opposition. Mr. Menzies was no newcomer to Australian politics, having been Prime Minister during the difficult years 1939-41, but this was his first experience as leader of the Opposition.

After several false starts and further dissension, Mr. Menzies took the initiative in calling a "unity conference" at Canberra in October, 1944, to organize a *new* party to work toward "a true revival of liberal thought." At a second conference at Albany in December, a constitution was drafted and the new party was launched under the name "Liberal." It was given parliamentary status at the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament in February, 1945, when Mr. Menzies announced that members of the U.A.P. wished to change their designation to "Liberal." The Country party was not included in either of the conferences mentioned above and continued to carry on independently under Mr. Fadden's leadership. During the 1946 campaign, however, the two parties worked in close harmony. In the mean time, in Queensland, a new "Queensland People's Party" had met with encouraging support in the state elections. Although this party continued its separate existence, it became the Liberal party organization in that state during the 1946 Commonwealth campaign.

As the campaign opened, it was clear that it was to be a contest between the Labor party on the one hand and the Liberal and Country parties, working in fairly close cooperation, on the other. Labor candidates were nominated in all except one of the constituencies of the House of Representatives; Liberals contested sixty seats and the Country party entered 24 candidates. In addition, the Communist party contested one or more seats in all states except Tasmania, and number of minor parties were in the field. The number of candidates competing for the 74 seats in the House of Representatives dropped from 338 in 1943, to 233 in 1946, indicating that a radical reduction in the number of Independent candidacies had followed the reorganization of the non-Labor forces. Combined Liberal-Country Senate "teams" competed against Labor in all states.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

As soon as Mr. Menzies delivered his policy speech on August twentieth, it was evident that the Liberals hoped to focus attention upon the future rather than the past, and to make tax reduction and Communism the dominant issues. Mr. Menzies argued that production was "the source of all material well being, of all wage increases, of all rising living standards, of all worthwhile social security," and that tax reduction was the most important incentive to production. He promised an immediate "20 per cent all round" reduction in income tax rates from January 1, 1947. At the same time, he promised to continue existing social services, extend child endowment to the first child, and substitute a contributory social insurance plan for the existing

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government financed one. Great stress was placed upon Communist agitation as a cause of industrial unrest, and the Labor government was condemned for its "supine surrender to a minority of Communist agitators." The conclusion was drawn that "Labor is more and more succumbing to Communist influence on these industrial matters." His program for industrial peace included "outlawing" strikes called against the decision of a competent tribunal, prosecuting those taking part in illegal stoppages, "freezing" the funds of organizations participating in illegal strikes or lockouts, and requiring unions to take strike votes by a secret ballot supervised by the Arbitration Court. He identified Labor with Communism ideologically by stating the "basic issue" as "Liberal democracy" versus Communism, which desired to overthrow democratic government, and "Labor Socialists," "who desire to carry forward in perpetuity the war system which subordinates the individual to the mass."

Mr. Fadden, whose party draws its support mainly from agricultural areas, and whose policy speech devoted considerable attention to farm problems, stressed both tax reduction and Communism. In both cases he went further than Mr. Menzies, promising a 28 per cent income tax cut from January 1, 1947, and arguing that the Communist party should be made illegal. Although there were differences of degree, the leaders of the Liberal and Country parties were in agreement upon basic issues.

The strategy of the Labor party was quite different. From the outset, it was clear that Mr. Chifley hoped to focus attention on performances rather than promises. The basic issue, he said, was whether the voters approved of the Labor government's record during the past five years and wished to continue it in office. He stressed the administration's war record, its successful fight against inflation, expansion of social services, stabilization of rural industries, efficient demobilization and rehabilitation of servicemen, and Australia's active participation in world affairs.

Although Mr. Chifley said he would make no "glittering promises," and he and his party were attacked throughout the campaign as lacking a policy for the future, he made some important commitments. He promised full employment and the maintenance of a stable economy; a medical and dental service "complete, free, and of the highest technical efficiency" (contingent on the approval of the amendment broadening the power of the Commonwealth over social services); and revision of the Arbitration Act. He refused to be drawn into the tax reduction competition but pointed to the reductions in the income and sales tax already made by the Labor government, and promised further reductions "as circumstances permitted." He argued that taxation, social services and national works could not be dealt with piecemeal but must be considered together and adjusted so as to maintain a stable economy.

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The debate over taxation soon became involved in confusing charges and counter charges about the effect of the Menzies-Fadden tax reductions on the basic wage, and whether what the wage earner received in reduced income taxes would be taken away from him by the proposed contributory social insurance plan. Labor characterized their promise as "reckless" and "dishonest." "Chifley and Security," "Five Years of Sound Government," "Here's the Nigger in the Menzies Woodpile" were some of its slogans. On the other hand, the advertisements of the Liberal and Country parties cried out: "We are a Tax Reduction Party," "Halve Taxation, Double Production," and "Let's Cut the Knot of High Taxation." As the election approached, however, Labor's advertisements placed more emphasis upon Mr. Chifley's promise to reduce taxation as circumstances permitted, which was gleefully characterized by his opponents as a "retreat." The basic issue of economic policy never emerged sharply, but it was there: a fundamental disagreement between those who believed that the key to post-war prosperity was tax reduction and the speedy elimination of wartime controls; and those who argued that such a course would be inflationary and that taxation, rationing, wage and price controls could be lifted safely only after production of peacetime goods caught up with the demand. To Americans who have been exposed to the post-war advertising of the National Association of Manufacturers, the debate should have a familiar ring.

The discussion of Communism was more one-sided. In his policy speech, Mr. Chifley did condemn the efforts of the Communists to "weaken the government and ultimately destroy the Labor party." He promised to revise the Arbitration Act, and stated that "no government has done more to solve the coal problem than has the Labor government," a reference no doubt to the Coal Industry Act passed just before Parliament rose. But Communism, strikes and industrial unrest were not emphasized in his speeches. Nor was he willing to be drawn into any debate on socialism, which his opponents would gladly have made a major issue. The Liberals, however, emphasized these subjects, and their efforts to forge a link between Communism and the Labor party had much in common with Republican attacks upon President Roosevelt in 1944. Some argued that since trade unions are affiliated with the Labor party and some trade unionists are Communists, the Labor party was Communist. Some times the reasoning was simply that Communists stand for socialism, that socialism is an avowed objective of the Labor party, and that, therefore, they were the same. "Government by union" was condemned, and Mr. Chifley was criticized for failing to discipline the coal miners, the "wharfies", and for having no formula for avoiding future industrial conflict. Underlying these arguments was a very real fear of Communist-inspired strikes, and the conviction

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that no Labor government would adopt a really "tough" policy toward strikers, no matter what their political persuasion.

These were the major issues but many other matters were discussed upon the hustings. Liberals charged that the Labor government was inefficient, bureaucratic and wasteful. It liked to "push people around" and was eager to continue war-time restrictions in peace-time. It lacked imagination, leadership and the capacity to govern. The weakening of the original Curtin "team" by Mr. Curtin's death, the withdrawal of Mr. Beasley and Mr. Makin for diplomatic duties, and the frequent absences of Dr. Evatt, who holds the important posts of Minister of External Affairs and Attorney General, had left Mr. Chifley with a cabinet of "tired, timid old men."

Labor supporters missed no opportunity to ridicule the "new party as "old" in everything but name. The war record of the Menzies government was bitterly attacked, and no speaker failed to mention that at a critical juncture in its history disagreement between Mr. Menzies and Mr. Fadden "let Australia down." It was pointed out that a Liberal-Country victory in 1946 would mean a coalition between two leaders who had been unable to cooperate in the past and who might be expected to differ in the future.

In spite of some excellent speeches by Dr. Evatt, linking the government's goal of raising the standard of living at home with the need for highed living standards abroad, foreign policy was largely subordinated to domestic issues. Liberals referred sarcastically to Dr. Evatt's "one man" foreign policy, and criticized it as being too independent of British policy and a threat to Empire solidarity.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The three amendments submitted to the voters at the election would have given the Commonwealth broader power over social services, the marketing of primary products, and the terms and conditions of industrial employment. Although the parties agreed that the referendum was not a party issue, Labor speakers consistently urged the approval of the amendments, and the Liberals opposed all three or urged a "No" vote on the last two. Mr. Menzies favored the first and opposed the others. The Country party strongly opposed all three. Candidates stressed advice rather than argument, and the constitutional issues were largely over shadowed by the parliamentary campaign. Independent "Yes" and "No" committees were organized. The "No" committee conducted an active advertising campaign in which it emphasized arguments very similar to those urged against constitutional change in the United States. "Save our federal system from the wreckers," "the states must be preserved," "a No vote is essential if our Federal Government is to be saved from irresponsible experiments," and "a step toward totalitarianism" were its battle cries.

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The biggest "upset" of the election was the defeat of Mr. Forde, Minister for the Army and Deputy leader of the Labor party, who has represented a Queensland electorate for the last 24 years. The Communists fared badly. Their total vote was less than in 1943, and no candidate polled the 10 per cent necessary to save his deposit. This, together with recent Communist reverses in union elections, should help to reassure those who have feared that Communism was gaining ground.

The first of the three constitutional amendments dealing with social service, was passed. Although the others were approved by a majority of the voters in the Commonwealth, they failed to receive the necessary majority in four of the six states. Australian voters have been traditionally "no minded". where changes in the Constitution are concerned, approving only three in 45 years. The acceptance of even one amendment was no small victory.

The Opposition emerges from the campaign strengthened in numbers and personnel and in a position to play its rôle of critic more effectively in the future than in the past. In election post-mortems, there is much discussion of the future of the Liberal party. It is generally conceded that it has a strong organization and has avoided many of the mistakes of the U.A.P. From the outset, however, it labored under two handicaps which it has been difficult to overcome. Instead of an organization created by people fired with zeal for an idea, it was an organization searching for a program which would bring it success at the polls. Although some "new blood" was attracted to its ranks, the leadership and overhead organization were so largely a continuation of the U.A.P. that it was open to attack as "the same old gang." Mr. Menzies has many admirers and loyal supporters, but many inside as well as outside the party are of the opinion that the Liberal party will never convince the electorate that it is a new party until it finds a new leader.

The election was a decisive endorsement of the Labor party's record and of Mr. Chifley's leadership. Upon them rests the full responsibility for guiding the nation through three difficult years. What is far from clear, however, is the course which they propose to follow. Mr. Chifley referred to a "Golden Age," but its outlines were left dim, and Labor's long-range objectives received scant attention. If the party has a plan for implementing its avowed socialist objective, it did not share it with the voters during the campaign. The Australian Labor party faces the future with no such clear-cut mandate for nationalization as the British Labor party received in 1945, for example. There are wide divergences of opinion within the party concerning long-range objectives, methods and tempo which must be resolved before it can gain a sense of direction and move forward with assurance. Resolving these differences and forging a constructive policy will call for leadership of a high order. Mr. Chifley's ability to meet that test will determine whether he and his party will be stronger or weaker in 1949.

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War speeds social change

War and Race

By Paul H. Landis

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WHEN races inhabit a common territory, three relationships are possible: conflict, accommodation or equality. Where the third relationship prevails, there is no problem. Where the second is characteristic, the problem has been temporarily solved. Where the first exists, the relationship between the races is dynamic with tensions and both groups constantly spar for position.

American democratic society has built its faith on political justice, not racial equality. No dark skinned race has ever been accepted as socially equal to the white. A situation of accommodation, that is one in which mutually understood working relations are realized, has periodically been attained, but always with the dominant white race defining the terms of cooperation.

In times of social crisis, systems of accommodation are weakened and tensions productive of conflict multiply. America passed through such a situation during World War II. What has been the result in terms of the place of dark skinned races in American society?

The Negro in the United States, being at the outset a slave race, was readily relegated to a position of inferior status. He was a man with limited privileges and many obligations to the race in the superior position. In the relationship of white and Negro, there easily grew up a system of accommodation which was quite as acceptable to the Negro as to the whites. The master-slave status involved for the white many of the attitudes of ownership and property; it implied an expectation of servitude on the part of the Negro.

There was, therefore, in the days prior to the Civil War, no conflict between the races and little frustration on the part of individuals of the group with inferior status.

After the Civil War, the necessity for a new system of accommodation arose. The Negro had a new civil status but the South immediately insisted on the restoration of the marks of subserviance characteristic of the pre-war period. The relation between white and Negro, the terms on which they could meet, the attitudes they should maintain toward each other were rigidly defined. These definitions became so well established that in the old South today the Negro knows as well as the white man what is expected of him.

In the deep South, therefore, the system of accommodation which developed after the Civil War is still in effect in large measure. Both races accept it. There are few problems in race relations, and the rep-

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resentative southern Negro senses few frustrations.

That such a set of relationships between human beings seems abnormal to northerners and to those who live in other phases of American culture is beside the point. The fact remains that a workable system of accommodation is in effect, whatever one's views may be concerning its moral implications or its justice. It is virtually a caste system.

CHALLENGE

To understand the Negro problem in the United States today one must project against this background of accommodation the situation of an increasing proportion of members of the Negro race who, because of their experience in the North, contact with northerners in the South, or their reading of protest literature by both whites and Negroes, challenge the southern system of accommodation. There has always been within the white race in the North a large number who view the Negro race as biologically equal to the white. To this group has been added a race-conscious Negro leadership which believes that dark skin does not justify economic and social discrimination. This group believes that all barriers between the races should be removed, that a Negro should be accorded status on the basis of his character and his personal achievement.

This group is not content to strive for the realization of equality for Negroes in the North, where the Negro has been given access to certain privileges and a limited status, but wish also to project the pattern on the South. As a consequence of such pressure for a modification of the southern system of accommodation, some southern Negroes now resent the southern caste system. Southern whites, on the other hand, resent outside pressures exerted to modify the prevailing pattern of race relations.

The Negro in the North finds himself in a no man's land of potential conflict for which no social definitions have been developed. The northern Negro has found a place in white man's industries and occupations, sometimes with equality, but more often he is given the inferior tasks at an inferior wage. He has penetrated the northern cities but often at the cost of high rents, poor living quarters and a low level of living. He is accepted as an equal in many northern schools and universities. When he has finished his education, he faces the inevitable alternative of serving the white race and having few patrons or of serving his own race and having little income. In his struggle for a new status, he finds himself frustrated at almost every point. He is a man who cannot accept the old status and who cannot be sure of attaining a new one. And yet there is much evidence that this kind of struggle, which has gone on for two generations, is actually bringing to the Negro an increasing number of privileges, a new level of living and new opportunities to participate in some better element's of the white man's culture.

The first system of accommodation was destroyed by the intrusion of an outside group. The new system of accommodation of Negro and

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white in the South is threatened from time to time by the same kind of intrusion. For example, various legislative measures have been introduced in the National Congress to try to make the ballot accessible to the Negro and to maintain nondiscriminatory employment practices. The Civil War and the Reconstruction amendments (XIII-XV) gave the Negro a civil status which he has never been able to use in the deep South because of grandfather clauses, poll taxes, the one-party political system and other effective devices for excluding the Negro from the ballot.

MIGRATION

Periods of social crisis, which open new occupational doors to the Negro and provide opportunities for mobility, hasten the process of revolt. During World War I, when there was a shortage of manpower, northern industry drew millions of southern Negroes at high wages. In many cases a week's wages equaled a year's income in the South.

Even with all the conditions of poverty and slum dwelling that accompanied the northern migration, the threat of tuberculosis, syphilis and other venereal diseases, the Negro stayed in the North. He found life more satisfactory in spite of its hazards than he had found it in the South.

The Negro population of New York City increased from 90,000 in 1910 to 478,000 in 1940; in Chicago, from about 40,000 to 281,000; in Philadelphia, from 80,000 to 252,000.

World War II created the second great opportunity for escape by mass migration and for acquiring a new status in industry; nondiscriminatory employment practices were adopted and widely practiced. It also offered an opportunity for acquiring status and a measure of equality in certain branches of the armed forces. The cry of many northern leaders was for complete equality of the races in the armed forces and in civilian life, the argument being that a man, who did not have an equal stake in his nation's future and the privileges it offered the citizen, could not be asked to die for his country. These attitudes led to further agitation in Congress for removing some of the more obvious handicaps to the Negro as a citizen, notably the poll tax.

In the armed forces, conflicting views prevailed. Dr. Howard Odum in his *Race and Rumors of Race* tells of northern soldiers, sailors, aviators and marines protesting discrimination against the Negro soldier and against the Negro workers, arguing that they had little motive to fight for world freedom as long as America itself denied freedom to its racial minorities, especially the Negro. The southern soldier, sailor and marine, imbued with the traditions of the deep South, argued that although he would gladly give his life for democracy, he did not want the precious heritage of the southern way of life taken away from him during his absence. Negro youths themselves faced the difficult dilemma of fighting for a democracy in which they shared no equal part or openly revolting against induction unless discrimination were outlawed.

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World War II, because it brought about such extensive migration between all sections of the country, greatly multiplied contacts between the southern Negro and the northern white in the South. Millions of northern soldiers and their wives and northern war workers and their families moved to the South during the war period. Shocked and amazed at the segregation of the races, which they had never understood and which many could not believe existed, they spoke freely of their attitudes in the South to southerners of both races. They tended to ignore the existing system of accommodation and to accept the Negro in relationships which are contrary to southern custom.

As a natural consequence of this, and the vocal encouragement of the administration in Washington and notably of Mrs. Roosevelt, the southern Negro began to ignore the accommodative devices which he had always regarded in dealing with southern whites. He readily accepted the northern white as an equal. This equality included the privileges of mistreating him, exploiting him and ignoring the caste amenities, which he dared not ignore in dealing with the southern white. Northern Negroes stationed in the South, southern Negro youth returning from army experience or from northern industry expected to be treated as equals. This provoked the comment from antagonistic southern whites, "These Negroes have been up North and come back, and they think they are as good as whites."

No less revolutionary to thinking on the race question than the effect of northerners stationed in the South was the effect of southerners being stationed in the North during the period of World War II. Many southern youths obtained their first picture of a new kind of relationship between the Negro and white when they moved to an army camp or an industry in a northern city. Here was a situation in which Negro and white worked side by side, participated in similar activities, rode the same trains, and sometimes entered the same eating places, motion picture theaters and slept at the same hotels.

This was a shock to the southern youth's accepted notions of propriety. Many southern youth were similarly shocked by the rôles that were played by the Negro in the armed forces. While it is doubtful that many southern young men and women completely revolutionized their ideas because of these experiences, they at least modified them. Some were even convinced that the Negro, given opportunity, is capable of doing many things which the southern culture never considered him capable of doing.

These illustrations suggest that in period of crisis when manpower is short, tools are scarce, mobility is extensive and ideas are being exchanged between groups of different attitudes and different cultural backgrounds, established systems of relationships are challenged and new definitions are in the making. After revolutionary experiences of this character, it is impossible for groups to return completely to the old system of accommodation. There is

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always the revolutionary element, the revolting group which prefers the rebuffs, uncertainties, frustrations, hopes and promises of the new situations to the meagre security of the old.

The struggle of the future will be for the Negro to maintain the status he acquired during the national crisis of World War II. Whether he retains it or not, many individuals and groups within the race are going to miss it and strive for it. They are going to do this with the increasing sympathy, not only of northern whites, but of many leaders in the South.

THE JAPANESE

It should not be implied from the above discussion that periods of crisis always tend to liberate a minority race from its inferior status. World War II had the opposite effect upon the Japanese-Americans.

One hundred twenty thousand Japanese-Americans, most of them native born citizens, were, under army command, uprooted from their homes and forced to move into barracks and to become for the period of the war, wards of the government under strict prison-camp rules. They had to sell their property in haste and under disadvantageous conditions or turn it over to the custodial care of various branches of the government. They dropped completely out of work life, lost all the advantages of good will built over a period of years in their business or profession and were relatively idle during a period of high prices and prosperous industrial and agricultural activity. They were forced to live under crowded conditions in isolated, barren settings where they were given few opportunities for any kind of creative expression.

Time will probably reveal that this action was more the product of pressure groups with vested interests than of military necessity. That the West coast action was a military necessity seems absurd when such a measure was considered unnecessary in Hawaii where the population was almost one-third Japanese-American and where military necessity was much more urgent. That race prejudice was a basic factor in the military decision is suggested by General De Witt's recommendation to the Secretary of War: "In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinites are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluated."

As a consequence of the war experience, the Japanese has been scattered over the nation and, encouraged by this public excuse for prejudice, the 50 per cent who have returned to their former communities have in many instances suffered injustices in re-acquiring property. They faced organized pressure groups in some localities which have resisted their returning to their former communities and threatened their return with violence. In the mind of the new generation of the Japanese, there cannot but be some question about their future acceptability and security as citizens of this nation.

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Under a system of accommodation, conflict between the two races does not exist. It is true that the superior group may enforce its will by conflict, but there is little if any resistance in such cases. In the case of a lynching mob, the inferior race has no recourse, either of law or force.

CONFLICT

Conflict emerges between races within that fringe of relationships where the old system of accommodation has been challenged and where the race in the inferior social position is claiming for itself new privileges which the race in the superior position refuses to give.

In America, the usual form of race conflict has been the race riot. Race riots typically appear (1) at periods of social upheaval when the race of the inferior social position is being admitted to a new economic and social status; (2) in areas where the new privileges are resented by the group in the superior position.

The most serious race riots in this country came during World War I when the Negro was first being admitted to urban industry on a large scale. These riots typically were in areas of Negro invasion or in sections where the old areas of accommodations were breaking down.

At the basis of the race riot is usually a series of rumors which are without foundation. These rumors have one predominant characteristic. They are stories of atrocities committed by the inferior race against the superior race. The rumors quickly pass from mouth to mouth on busses, street corners, stores, in factories. There are such rumors as that of a Negro stabbing a white bus driver because the bus driver would not let him on a crowded bus. Other rumors circulate about all Negroes carrying knives, razors, ice picks or guns and being ready for an attack on the whites. The essence of the rumor is that the Negro is ready to challenge the position of the white by force.

In areas of large Negro population where accommodation has been maintained by a rigid system of stratification, the falling of barriers of stratification which keep the Negro "in his place" is a basis for fear and for hate. The breakdown of segregation in depots and common carriers under the heavy traffic of wartime and the movement of army troops; the entry of Negroes to new occupations and their success in them with the resulting economic liberation and unionization; the loss of Negro help in subservient positions —domestic labor and share cropping especially—migration away from the locality itself, often a form of protest and an expression of emancipation; the growing racial solidarity of the Negro and the numerous expressions of disregard for the old status; the greater interest of the North in the welfare, health and education of the Negro all shake the old foundations.

These are all developments that would have come more slowly through education and economic progress of the nation as a unit, but they came quickly and unexpectedly under the impact of war. The old situation of accommodation will never be fully reinstated.

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Let's face the symptoms

Roots of Mental Illness

By Ed Ritter

Principal of The School for Organic Education

COMMON sense hygiene can reverse the trend of mounting mental illness in the United States. But common sense mental hygiene is not an easy panacea.

Today we are more practical in the care of our Chevrolets than in the care of our personalities. Mr. J. Doke won't allow his auto to be run at high speed until a mechanic clears up that faint chug in the region of the left front wheel bearing. At the same time, Mr. Doke takes no constructive action about his extreme, shifting moods and insomnia that may be his warning symptoms of an impending manic-depressive psychosis.

"The saddest irony I confront," a psychiatrist tells me, "is that the person who needs psychiatric help is so often the one who lacks the objectivity to seek it while there is yet time."

The preface of *The Lonely Ones,* Steig's collection of surrealist cartoons of neurotic persons, warns: "He who can peruse these pages without cringing several times is a sick man." It is a healthy cringing of objectivity.

Reading of pre-psychotic symptoms should have a like effect. We all have tendencies that are caricatured by one or more disorders. Recognizing them and the environmental conditions under which they sometimes lead to abnormality is absorbing and instructive. Mental disease is more likely to disorganize your home and reduce the efficiency of your family than is physical illness. To be ignorant of the beginnings of mental disease is an irresponsibility no one can afford.

It is well also to acknowledge the limitations of discussions of this kind. Knowledge of the general pre-psychotic and psychoneurotic symptoms does not equip the layman to competently interpret his own—nor even his neighbor's—symptoms. Diagnosis and treatment are the psychiatrist's province.

Brooding, anxious introspection over real or imaginary symptoms is also to be eschewed. But just as we can sanely study the early symptoms of cancer without succumbing to cancer-phobia, we can safeguard ourselves by intelligent attention to the danger signals that precede mental illness.

The signals are usually set at a generous distance from the threatened breakdown. Many years before the onset of schizophrenia, the victim's habits of cleanliness and care of personal appearance are likely to deteriorate. His introverted personality becomes even more shut-in; his fantasies and daydreams

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consume a growing proportion of his time. His efficiency lessens. His initiative decreases. By objective criteria, he becomes a failure. His ego, finally unable to withstand this reality, is at last rescued by the unconscious, and dementia is accomplished.

The paranoiac has long been warned by growing sensitiveness, hot anger at criticism or suggestion, strong suspiciousness and tendencies to interpret other people's casual remarks as insults.

MANIC-DEPRESSIVE

The manic-depressive psychosis may develop in less than a year after its first definite warnings. Persons who become unaccountably "blue" for gradually lengthening periods and who may then become uninhibited and elated between depressions are probably on the verge of this psychosis. They suffer sleep-disturbances—usually in the early morning—and they make unsupportable complaints of organic ills. In from 60 to 70 per cent of the cases, the first attack is a depression.

Involutional melancholia likewise strikes relatively abruptly. The victim's principal warnings are headaches, insomnia, depressed-apprehensive states and a tendency toward self- accusation. Women's unfounded fears that the menopause constitutes a threat of mental disease is thought to be itself an immediate cause of many involutional melancholia attacks among females.

It has been discovered that even victims of the so-called "organic" psychoses—those in which deterioration takes place in the brain or nervous system—show personality defects before the onset of the organic deterioration.

Findings of Dr. David Rothchild reported in *American Journal of Psychiatry* (January, 1944) indicate "numerous inconsistencies between the severity of the mental symptoms and the extent of the cerebral leisions" among arteriosclerotic patients. The most commonly encountered premorbid personality traits included "seclusiveness, odd and eccentric traits, restricted interests, aggressiveness, violent temper and shiftlessness."

Recent studies infer that alcholic psychoses — also considered organic — are associated with pre-existing personality defects of a severe order. While it is obvious that alcohol attacks the nervous system and does — in itself — produce a toxic psychosis, the alcholic habit might have been obviated by early, expert attention to certain personality symptoms.

Dr. Samuel Johnson long ago suggested the symptoms: "In the bottle, *discontent* seeks for comfort, *cowardice* for courage and *bashfulness* for confidence." (Italics supplied.) In the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol* (December, 1944), Dr. Edmund Bergler cited many personality studies of alcholics which, he said, "all add up to the fact that the alcholic is . . . a chronic disappointer." He unconsciously elicits refusals from others by arranging impossible situations. He revels in self-pity and finally enjoys psychic masochistic pleasure through the degradation of excessive drink.

Senile psychoses usually develop

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very gradually. The personality change takes the form of an exaggeration of already existing traits; e.g., the irritable person becomes overbearing. The victim sticks obstinately to old ideas and resents the slightest variation in routine. Forgetfulness about answering letters gradually becomes forgetfulness about where he has put his trousers.

PARESIS

More cases of general paresis begin to manifest themselves between five and twenty years after syphilitic infection, but most cerebral syphilis appears from six months to five years after infection. The fact that only about two per cent of syphilitics suffer paresis suggests that paretics have an organic susceptibility in common.

The infected man who is headed for paresis will surprise his friends by the sudden development of traits entirely contrary to his previous character. A long-trusted treasurer of an organization may be caught committing petty thefts. A stoical person may begin to display maudlin emotionalism. A quiet obseqious husband may become a bully in his home.

Among the earliest signs is the patient's habitual slurring of words. Such words as *hippopotamus* and *Methodist Episcopal* become almost impossible of utterance. Finally convulsions somewhat similar to epileptic seizures are likely to be experienced. If treated in time with malaria therapy or penicillin, the victim may completely recover from the disease.

Unlike the psychotic, the psychoneurotic makes no clear break with reality. As his psychoneurosis develops, his feelings of insecurity mount and he insists on making a scapegoat of some specific organ of his body. Although his associates are inclined to call these organic difficulties imaginary, they are actually quite real.

A new study has shown nightmares to be symptoms of psychoneuroses. In 19 of 25 cases, Lidz definitely traced nightmares to suicidal ideas. The dreams were projections of the idea that life was not worth living, the terror in them resulting from the ego's resistance. In 16 of the 19 cases, the onset of the nightmares had been immediately preceded by some disruption in the patients' interpersonal relationships. e.g., the sweetheart's unfaithfulness or a severe family quarrel.

When Horace said, "I teach that all men are mad," he may have had intimations of the fact that each temperament has its special predisposition toward some mental disorder.

Although there are many methods of classifying personalities, we are principally concerned with the two types in which are rooted the chief disorders of psychogenic origin — schizophrenia and the manic-depressive psychoses. Other interesting types are sketched but lightly.

You're well acquainted with persons of the schizoid and cyclothymic types.

You might have recognized Richard's schizoid tendencies while he was still in nursery school. He

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was never in trouble because he had few contacts with the other children. Provided with a few bottles and blocks, he withdrew to a corner and became engrossed for hours with the gleaming bottle-automobiles that darted through busy thoroughfares bounded by block-skyscrapers. He was so miserable on being told to join the others in "London Bridge is Falling Down" that the unwise teacher let him go on amusing himself day after day.

Later, when he went to school, Richard was a model pupil and his teachers often rewarded him for his flawless conduct—flawless by traditional classroom criteria. He obeyed implicity; he wasn't tempted to whisper or "cut up" with other children. He would rather work on his assignments during recess than play "roll 'em" out on the playground.

More of Richard's childhood characteristics are revealed by Jenkin's and Glickman's recent studies of the schizoid child. Traits of 5,000 children consecutively referred to a child guidance clinic established their basis for a behavior syndrome —a cluster of interrelated traits— that described the schizoid child. The traits included seclusiveness, listlessness, daydreaming and lack of initiative. The children had relatively good intelligence and frequently made superior scores on Binet performance tests. But their aptitude for athletics and manual skills was poor.

Returning to Richard—now in his adolescence—we find him persisting in what appears to be an insipid pastime. Instead of playing baseball with the boys down the street, he spends all afternoon batting rocks with a stick. If we could see within, we'd know at once why this rock-batting takes so long. The barren yard is a gayly bedecked ball diamond and the bleachers are jammed. In his head, Richard carries a vast intricate system of teams and leagues and an entire season's schedule is being played off this afternoon.

He is himself a member of one of the teams and the rock used for his time-at-bat is fortuitously smooth and well-shaped. When a stone sails as far as the elm tree, a single has been hit; when it rolls to the fence, it's a double; if it hits the fence, it's a triple; if it clears the fence, the stands scream "Homer!"

When we ask him what fun there is in batting rocks, he gives an evasive surly answer and resents our attempted invasion into his private imaginary world.

But even if he wanted to, he couldn't explain. His ego conceals it from him that he is alone because he is afraid of the reality of the ball game down the street. All things work out perfectly on this imaginary diamond. Flight-from-reality is the outstanding schizoid characteristic.

As a young man, Richard is not likely to marry. But if he does, it will be to a woman of the maternal type. While he idealizes the sexual act in fantasy, he abhors it as unholy and gross in reality.

What Richard's associates know of him is that he is a dreamy introvert. What they do not recognize is that every day a quiet slow struggle is waged between his tendency to withdraw within himself and the social impulses to participate in real-

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ity. An unexpected, successful human relationship may be the scaffolding from which he will be able to build solid bridges between himself and his environment. His friend and society may profit much from his rich imagination and original insights.

On the other hand, a humiliating demotion by an unfeeling superior at the office may be the factor that demolishes Richard's faltering confidence and drives him into his imaginary world where reality doesn't matter—where the human happiness of love, hope and achievement cannot enter—and where life is death. Every year from 30,000 to 40,000 people in the United tates take that course—twice the number who contract tuberculosis.

THE CYCLOTHYMIC

The cyclothymic personality is in strong contrast to the schizoid. He is an extrovert. He is sociable, entirely preoccupied with the here and now, and he makes friends easily. So dependent is he on his environment that it dictates his mood, and his emotional life flucuates greatly. If he develops a mental disorder, it will be of the manic-depressive type.

The cyclothymic is high-strung and diffuses his attention over many people. Some authorities consider this characteristic his protection against intimacy with anyone—intimacy that might reveal the bankruptcy of his inner personal self.

In *The Person in the Body,* Hinsie further describes the cyclothymic (cycloid in his terminology) as one whom you like as "an automaton of ideas and feelings" but one whom "you never quite come to know. It is not . . . uncommon for his friends and relatives to say, after he has succumbed to a manic-depressive illness, that he is the last person in the world they would have expected to fall ill mentally."

Constitutionally, the cyclothymic is of the pyknic type—stocky and muscular. Being an extremist in both work and play, he lives at a high speed that over-taxes his body. Warned by fatigue, he often drives himself the harder. Sleep disturbance and careless eating habits contribute to the overload on his nervous system.

Unless he gains some self-knowledge and practices common sense mental hygiene, he will begin to show the symptoms of impending psychosis. Over 10,000 persons a year enter United States mental hospitals with manic-depressive psychoses, and it is estimated that from three to four times that many victims are put under psychiatrists' care.

A personality type that is still but poorly defined—but which is likely to demand growing interest from intelligent citizens—is the "psychopathic inferior". While these people constitute only 1.2 per cent of our mental hospital population, they keep our courts busy, fill our gambling dens and hobo camps, and provide much of the personnel for our red-light districts. According to Strecker and Ebaugh in *Practical Clinical Psychiatry,* 54 per cent of the men and one-third of the women in this group come into contact with courts on account of threats, assaults, quarrels and vagrancy."

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These authors describe the psychopathic inferior as a person with "sort of a feeble-mindedness of the emotions." It is not a retardation in emotional development as is the case with the psychoneurotic, but a fundamental defect in the emotional-ethical sphere.

Hinsie calls the defect "an inability to grow beyond one's self". Intellectually, persons of this type understand that their behavior is reprehensible but they are completely without feeling on the matter. They are apparently incapable of consideration toward others.

A study of women psychopathic inferiors leads Van Amberg to subdivide this group into four categories: (1) anti-social persons who have no life-organization or aim; (2) over-indulged persons whose inabilities to assume responsibilities make them abnormally dependent on parents or mates; (3) almost adequate persons who can meet the usual pressures of life but who "go to pieces" in even the minor crises; (4) sexual inferiors whose personalities struggle with an abnormal sexual constitution.

It was characteristic of all of them to strike out angrily against the demands made on them.

Strecker and Ebaugh suggest that better understanding of the psychopathic inferior may lead to their segregation into work colonies and possible sterilization.

The psychoneuroses are associated with several personality types (hysteroid, neurasthenoid, and psychasthenoid) that have certain characteristics in common.

There is general agreement among authorities that at least one-third of all cases confronted in the practice of medicine are of psychoneurotic origin. The commonest trick by which the unconscious conceals a personality defect is to shift attention to the body. The psychoneurotic's emotional responses, instead of maturing along with his mind and body, remain in childhood. Instead of running to a parent and crying, however, this person attempts to unload his frustration on his body.

A look at the forms used by social case history interviewers at any phychiatric hospital would suggest that parents cannot begin too early in their application of common sense mental hygiene.

The interviewer is concerned with the sleep habits of the patient as an infant. He discovers, for example, whether or not the infant showed symptoms of insecurity resulting from a lack of parental affection. The child's over-attachment to a parent is another familiar beginning of adult maladjustment. Recognition and expert treatment of emotional irregularities when they occur in childhood is supremely important. Child guidance clinics are our first strong line of defense against mental disease.

If the rising admission rates in mental hospitals are to be checked, we shall have to achieve greater objectivity about mental health. It is as essential that we know the constitutional strengths and weaknesses of our personalities as of our bodies. Such symptoms as unduly painful sensitiveness, moodiness, irritability must be dealt with as realistically as sprained ankles and toothaches.

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Pressure Groups in Action

THE N.A.M.

By Nancy Mayo Waterman

Pressure groups figure prominently in the complex of clashing interests that make up our political life. It is FORUM's policy to study, present and evaluate the viewpoint of these special interest groups.

This is the first of a series of articles to be written, from time to time, on the significance of pressure groups in a democracy.

WITH the coming of the second world war, the whole world was made forcibly aware of the existence of pressure groups: people, with voting and financial power, bent on furthering their own interest over that of their respective countries. The Germans were able to make their swift conquest of France because her government was so split into factions that her cabinets fell continually.

The United States met the challenge of war with a united front. But as the war dragged to a close, rival sections of our economy split up in bitter feuds which rocked the nation. Strike followed strike; the government was forced to warn, threaten and finally seize recalcitrant plants to keep up the flow of war materials. Black markets flourished, and price control legislation reeled under the blows of disapproving special interests. The farmer wanted high prices for his produce but low prices for the manufactured articles he had to buy; the manufacturer desired high prices for his products, but lower prices for farm products.

America has myriads of special interest groups. The majority of these groups maintain "lobbies"—advance guard posts stationed in strategic places, usually in Washington or near the seat of government which the group wishes to influence. These lobbies are composed of men who are well acquainted both with the program of the group they represent and with the workings of the government they are paid to watch. Many of them are lawyers or newspapermen, many have direct connections with congressmen. The T.N.E.C. found that there were more than 400 lobbies in Washington in 1941, and in 1939 there were estimated to be some 6,000 lobbyists.

These lobbies represent labor, big business, farm organizations; professional groups such as medical men, bankers, advertisers, lawyers,

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HARVARD LAW LIBRARY

and teachers; reformers, such as conservationists and birth controllers; governments in exile; specialized producers; people with causes.

Lobbyists have been described as constituting a fourth branch of the government. They make no speeches in Congress, nor do they advertise their doings too liberally in print, but they are, none-the-less, often successful in stopping legislation harmful to them from being introduced and are capable of killing it even after it has passed one of the Houses. Their work is not always of such a negative nature, for many bills have been initiated by pressure groups, written by the association lawyers and introduced through friendly Congressmen. According to Harvey Walker in "Well Springs of Our Laws", *National Municipal Review,* 76 per cent of the bills introduced in the 1939 session of the Senate were introduced by senators at the request of agencies outside the legislature. The bills fathered by such groups are often more liable to succeed than those created by the legislators themselves, as strong minorities are capable of sweeping disinterested groups into the fold by the power of their own fierce conviction.

Pressure groups can perform important representative functions in government. In the early days of our country, the geographical apportionment of representation was a good deal more effective than it is now. Certain sections were farm areas; others, lumbering districts; still others, mining regions. But, with the increasing diversification of our economy, the local congressman found himself representing a region where many conflicting interests vied for his ear and vote. His means of livelihood depended on his ability to satisfy the largest and most powerful groups in his constituency. In the process, many of the smaller groups lost any chance of being represented in Washington or the state capitol. Thus, the formation of lobbies is a means of supplementing our inadequate representative system.

Special interest groups, when well organized, also serve to decrease the work of legislatures and of Congress by settling differences of opinion within the framework of the groups themselves. This enables them to present a clear attitude on legislation and reduces the number of conflicts to be dealt with.

ALTERNATIVES

Alternatives to the present system might be found in official recognition by the government of the representative function of such groups, or in the creation of third parties. Neither of these alternatives has, however, proved effective in practice. If allied with the government, special interest councils seem to end up as government instruments which exert pressure upon the groups they supposedly represent. Third parties are usually assimilated in time as, lacking power, they are forced to coalesce with one or the other of the larger parties.

If pressure groups worked with a thorough understanding of the basic issues involved, their over-all activity might thus be considered beneficial. Actually, however, except during the war, these groups have

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often viciously served the interests of the people they represent, regardless of the havoc caused elsewhere when partisan legislation is passed. Examples of harmful legislation passed under the aegis of pressure lobbying include the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill, which raised the tariff wall so high that few imports could scale it at a time when foreign nations in debt to us could only pay us back by sending us their products; and the Silver Purchase Act, which made it practically impossible for us to utilize our silver reserves for industry during the war.

Many times legislation that would be beneficial to millions of people is weakened and made ineffectual by "interested parties." This occurred in the case of the Copeland Bill for pure food and drugs which was introduced in 1934. Though cosmetic concerns and drug-manufacturers do not conspire to kill people intentionally, still they are often in too much of a rush to check the safety of their products. An impressive array of "snake oil lobbyists" opposed the Copeland Bill and succeeded in emasculating it. In 1937, 70 people died from imbibing a patent medicine marketed with less than usual care.

Often pressure groups ostensibly representing fairly large groups of people in certain occupations, or of similar persuasions, actually represent small minorities within their organizations. Sometimes group leaders will intentionally assume misleading organization names or falsely claim to be representative of certain interests whom they are actually working against. This habit leads to confusion among legislators desirous of hearing as many sides of a question as possible.

Because these groups are often led by a small number of men who judiciously choose the issues to be presented to the organization as a whole, and who keep their interest in other legislation secret, the average voter, belonging to several such groups at once, may find himself supporting a veteran's organization which, by asking higher bonus rates, would increase the cost of running the government, while at the same time the business group to which he belongs works toward the balancing of the national budget by reducing treasury payments.

A Washington lobby is usually composed of a staff of research workers who dig up the facts for the strategist. The lobbyist works to get a sympathetic congressman elected by campaigning in the field. He sees to it that the congressman, once elected, understands that the "people" want special measures passed. He "helps out" the administrative group which must see to the interpretation of the law, and fights any unfavorable law, carrying it, if necessary, straight to the Supreme Court. This course of action can tie up legislation for a good many years.

The old policy of greasing the palms of a congressman directly is now seldom used. Rather, the bogey of losing his job is employed as a powerful weapon against the legislator who is informed by hundreds of telegrams and visiting constituents of his duty where certain bills are concerned. Bad bills are described

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with enthusiasm by lobbyists working on the sympathies of congressmen and of the people as "socialistic", "communistic" or "fascist"; whereas bills they wish passed are described as fundamental to the continuation of the "American way of life", "the American standard of living" or "Free Enterprise."

Lobbying languished during the twenties but, with the advent of the New Deal, lobbies mushroomed overnight. As K. G. Crawford points out in *The Pressure Boys,* "there is no client so desirable as a frightened millionaire." During the thirties there was no unemployment among the lobbyists. Business screamed with each new attack by the New Deal. Both the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers lost prestige in the unrestrained and selfish attacks they made on the Roosevelt administration.

The danger of high-powered lobbying by such a well-organized, financially powerful and influential group as big business caused early consternation in government circles. Many times special committees of both Houses investigated the activities of lobbies. In 1927, Senator Thad Caraway of Arkansas introduced a bill that required lobbyist registration, only to have it pigeonholed in the House. In 1935, Hugo Black attempted another such bill remarking that, "contrary to tradition, against the public morals, and hostile to good government, the lobby has reached such a position of power that it threatens government itself. Its size, its power, its capacity for evil; its greed, trickery, deception and fraud condemn it to the death it deserves". Black was appointed to the Supreme Court in the midst of the turmoil he aroused, and the bill was never passed.

Finally, on August 2, 1946, as part of the Congressional reorganization bill signed by President Truman, a law was created requiring the registration of congressional lobbyists, their employers and periodic, detailed reporting of their expense accounts. Unfortunately the law is a vague one, leaving the question of whether registration is necessary to individuals and organizations.

THE N.A.M.

In an analysis of the working of the National Association of Manufacturers, which represents much of the power and influence of the larger industrialists in this country, various reports on the growth of economic concentration in this country during the war and in the post-war period become valuable.

According to the report of the Senate Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small-Business Enterprises, in the past four years, a high degree of economic concentration has taken place. Two-thirds of the value of the prime contracts awarded during the war were given to 100 top corporations. The top 10 received 30 per cent of the contracts. In the acquisition of raw materials, the top 100 concerns used 70 per cent of the alloy steel,

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79 per cent of the copper, 66 per cent of the copper-base alloy and 81 per cent of the aluminum. The percentage of workers in large organizations employing more than 10,000 men increased correspondingly over the number of laborers working for smaller concerns. In 1944, such large concerns were employing 30 per cent of the total working power as compared to 13 per cent in 1939.

The financial position of the larger corporations was considerably benefited during the war; according to the report, 63 of the corporations now possess almost $10,000,000,000 of net working capital, most of it in liquid form. This amount of money is capable of buying up 94 per cent of the total number of manufacturing concerns in the entire United States! And above the powerful giant corporations is the group of economic titans; Morgan — First National, Mellon, Rockefeller, du Pont, and the Cleveland group controlling 31 of the nation's 250 largest manufacturing corporations.

The August 5, 1946, issue of *In Fact* accused representatives of big business in Washington of cooperating with monopolists in weakening the work of the Department of Justice's Anti-trust Division. According to the article, the men who shout the loudest concerning the virtues of free enterprise are the same ones who almost succeeded in having the Department's budget cut by $2,000,000.

The article names some 100 companies whose names appear on the list of pending anti-trust cases waiting government action. Some of these are: Chrysler Corporation, Monsanto Chemical Company, the General Electric Company, the Aluminum Company of America, the Hamilton Watch Company, the Ford Motor Company, the General Motors Company and the Westinghouse Electric Company.

MEMBERS

Representatives of these companies crop up with surprising regularity in lists of influential members of the National Association of Manufacturers. In the April 27, 1946, edition of *N.A.M. NEWS*, B. E. Hutchinson of the Chrysler Corporation is listed as a National Vice President; William M. Rand, President of the Monsanto Chemical Company, is on the Industrial Relations Program Committee; Donaldson Brown, Vice President of General Motors, is on the Board of Directors; M. M. Anderson, Vice President of the Aluminum Company of America, is also on the board of directors; C. M. Kendig, President of the Hamilton Watch Company, is a member of the International Economic Relations Committee.

With this information in mind, we turn to the history of the association, its objectives, principles and organization and, finally, its influence on the legislation in this country.

In 1895 the National Association of Manufacturers was launched by a group of American businessmen meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Association's special object at that time was the promotion of foreign

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trade. By 1903, it was a national organization, working toward the suppression of the open shop movement and the creation of higher tariff walls. Its activities were carried on in surreptitious ways with the full belief that the Lord was behind industrialists in their fight to maintain the "American way of life." No better proof of this attitude could be found than the statement made by President John Kirby in 1911: "The A. F. of L. is engaged in an open warfare against Jesus Christ and His Cause."

In 1913 an article by "Colonel Martin M. Mulhall," for 10 years chief lobbyist for the N.A.M's. Washington "contact" man, James A. Emery, appeared in the *New York World*. Mulhall was paid $10,000 for the article which exposed in large measure the activities of the association. Charges of actual bribery of Congressman James T. McDermott and of the Chief Page in the House caused a Congressional investigation of the association which continued for four months. Mulhall's connection with the N. A. M. was clearly established as was the fact that he had hired the Chief Page in the House for $50 per week to transact N. A. M. business. It was established that the N. A. M. was given notice of pending legislation and had influenced the appointment of committees. It had also taken an active part in elections.

Though Congressman McDermott finally retired from public life quite discredited, the association itself was left to continue its merry way. It was during the legislation of the New Deal that the pressure group, stung by the words of Roosevelt concerning their activities as "the privileged princes of the new economic dynasties," lashed back with all its accumulated power. Between 1933 and 1937, its membership doubled. In 1937, its income was nearly $1,500,000 — $793,000 of which it was spending to "educate" the public.

At the Congress of American Industry on December 4, 1941, the association's new attitude — directly influencing the people as the source of power — was ably described in a speech by Thomas Jones, chairman of the Committee on Employment Relations:

> My plea is for realism. . . In our labor relations, we have the Wagner Act; we have the N.L.R.B.; we have the Defense Mediation Board; we have the Labor Unions. If we decide that it is necessary to do away with any or all of these, then our course is obvious. All we have to do is swing the public to our point of view.
>
> How many times have we sat down informally over the dinner table or with a cigar and a glass of beer with the members of the N.L.R.B. and discussed our side of the case?
>
> . . . We can use popular appeal and persuasion to convince the public. The politicians do. Look them over. Are they smarter than we are?

According to the Constitution of the N.A.M., its objectives are: to promote industrial interests in the United States; to foster domestic and foreign commerce of the United States; to improve relations between employer and employee; to protect individual liberty and the rights of employer and employee; to disseminate information among the public with respect to the principles of

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individual liberty and ownership of property; to support legislation in furtherance of those principles; and to oppose contrary legislation. It has worked unceasingly to subdue the labor movement, and for tariffs and low taxes on corporations.

The association represents, in its organization, a state within a state. In 1944, it could speak for 57,000 businessmen, 12,000 of whom were manufacturers. It was backed by more than 40,000 members of 307 regional, state and local manufacturing or trade groups who were subscribers to the National Industrial Council. It had 63,000 suscribers to the National Industrial Information Committee.

The 1946 President of the Association is Robert R. Wason, President of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, Incorporated. Ira Mosher, director of Russell Harrington Cutlery Company, is the Chairman of the Board. Robert M. Gaylord, president of the Ingersoll Milling Machine Company, is Chairman of the Executive Committee and E. C. Crawford, president of Thompson Products, Incorporated, is Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Twenty-five hundred men form 24 standing committees including committees on Economic Security, Industrial Financing, Labor Legislation and Tax Administration.

When asked by the Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, what the dues of the association were, Robert Gaylord provided a graduated chart of dues expected from members on the basis of the capitalization of their business enterprises. Those with less than $50,000 capital were asked to pay $50 annually: those with a capital of $1,000,000,000 or over were expected to pay $10,000.

As much as half of this money is expended annually for propaganda aimed at educating the public. This function is divided into two parts. The association itself attempts to deal with day-to-day issues, such as attacks on industry or the association itself. These it answers in the press, on the radio and on the speaker's platform. Spokesmen for industry are supplied Congressional committees and government agencies by the association.

The National Industrial Information Committee arranges the "long range" program of the pressure group. It drums into the public consciousiness year after year the facts that only under a system of free enterprise can man be free, and that industry can provide the leadership which will make the nation prosperous. In 1943, the committee, using the press, radio, motion pictures, speakers and literature spent $300,486.88 in reaching the ear of the general public and the employees of business. It spent $144,059.22 in arranging conferences with industrial spokesmen and educators, clergymen, woman's clubs and forum leaders. Literature and movies made available to schools and colleges cost $215,224.82.

The most powerful psychological weapon the association has is the ambition of the middle-class, and the citizens in general, to acquire the power, the financial security and the

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prestige of ownership which the titans of America's "free enterprise" system have found. These hopefuls, blind to the evidence of increasing economic concentration, which year by year makes it more difficult for the small business man to prosper, are convenient suckers for the pressure group.

President Gaylord admitted in 1944 that the association did have an active Washington lobby and described the Washington newsletter as designed to give the members of the N.A.M. the voting record of Congressmen on bills which the association felt were significant to industry, as well as a discussion of impending legislation. He denied however that the letter could influence elections.

The newsletter, available to members at a subscription rate of $15 per year, is published weekly. In a description of its activities during the past year, its August 3, 1946, edition stated that the 1945 congressional voting record was the best for industry in 15 years. The letter stated "the reconversion picture would be far less encouraging today if the Congress had not resisted the ill-advised $25 per week federal unemployment compensation program, an immediate increase in the minimum wage rate, the socialistic full employment program and the O.P.A.—Bowles philosophy of boosting wages without compensating price increases . . . " The letter noted that relief from the excess war profits tax had been voted, and that the renegotiation of the profits law had been discontinued. In tallying the results of the organization's lobbying efforts during the year, the letter was happy to note that 11 bills had been passed which it supported; only three were defeated. Three which were opposed became law, and 10 which it opposed were defeated.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

The McMahon Atomic Energy Bill was passed on June 1, despite the disapproval of Mr. R. J. Dearborn, Chairman of the N.A.M. Committee on Patents and Research, who felt that it provided too much government control over the source materials of atomic energy, the production of fissionable materials, and the use and distribution of the energy and its by-products. The N. A. M. felt that sufficient control could be obtained through the regulation and licensing of private enterprise by the government.

N.A.M's. most notable success in recent years has been its struggle for the abolishment of the O.P.A. On July 25, 1946, congressman William J. Green, Jr., accused the N.A.M. of spending $400,000 in advertising to kill the O.P.A.

It would be far wiser for industry were it to break up its trusts and monopolies and establish a more equitable distribution of productivity on its own initiative. Free enterprise as a system of economic livelihood is more in danger from the excessive size of big business, its propaganda, trusts and monopolies, than it is from the people of America — the laborers, the union leaders, the intellectuals — all of whom the N. A. M. works to educate toward the path of righteousness.

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EDITOR

Our Credit Policy

Are foreign loans "dollar diplomacy?" How should we answer this charge?

AMERICAN CREDIT POLICY

One of the familiar themes of both Communist and pan-Slavic propaganda, as developed during the Paris Conference, was the charge that the United States has grown rich on the war and is now using its economic and financial power in an imperialistic adventure to enslave the world. This charge overlooks the nearly fifty-two billion dollars expended for Lend-Lease aid and relief to our wartime allies, much of which went to one pan-Slavic bloc. But it is a charge which has been repeated so persistently that it has seemed inevitable that our government would sooner or later be forced to take note of it as one of the factors with which international politics are made. This the government has done, with the indefinite suspension of $90,000,000 in credits to Czechoslovakia, whose government has made it plain that it misunderstands both the motives and the purposes of American assistance to European countries.

The time has come for the various government agencies involved to work out a definite and consistent policy for this country's credit and relief activities in order to put an end to misinterpretations of this kind. Certain principles on which such a policy should be based appear to be self-evident. The first is that we are not pursuing "dollar diplomacy" and have no desire to force loans on any country which sees in them a threat of any kind to its own political or economic independence. The second and equally important principle is that loans are not gifts, and that any country applying for a loan must furnish, like any prospective private borrower, convincing proof that by virtue of its political, economic and trade policies it is a good credit risk. The first principle has already been applied in the case of Czechoslovakia, the second, in the case of Poland. Beyond that, it would also appear essential to make certain that neither Lend-Lease nor surplus goods transferred to other countries are used in a new kind of black market for political or financial profit, as

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Czechoslovakia is reported to have done. Finally, since international relief, financed in the main by the United States, has assumed proportions which make it an important factor in the economy of many countries, it should be coordinated with our credit policy in such a way that it cannot be misused to fill up economic gaps created by the policies of these countries, and possibly even subsidize an increase of armaments.

In the development of such a policy, the State Department will have to have the decisive voice, since our credit and relief policies inevitably impinge upon our foreign policy. But it would be advisable to develop close and automatic liaison between the State Department, the Treasury, the Export-Import Bank and whatever organization takes over relief after U.N.R.R.A. winds up at the end of the year. American foreign and credit policies did not always go hand in hand after the last war, to the detriment of both, and with ultimate harm to the American people.

—*The New York Times*

STOP HAND-OUTS TO SOVIET STOOGES

Too long have the Soviet stooges who make up the Czechoslovakian government been biting the hand that feeds them.

The hand in question belongs, of course, to the United States, which has again been playing the unappreciated and sneered-at role of Uncle Sap, this time to the Eastern European countries that are under the thumb of the chief sneerer, the Soviet Union.

In finally withholding some of the largesse we have been distributing to those who repay us with attack and malediction, the State Department is taking the only proper course.

The Czechs apparently see no anomaly in attacking United States economic policy in Europe as one of "enslavement" while falling all over themselves to lap up more of the gravy in the form of multi-million-dollar credits that have been so lavishly pouring out.

It is most disheartening to find the Czechs taking a leading part in this slap at traditional friends. The United States has always had a sincere affection for the Czech people and has consistently supported their gallant efforts to secure and maintain independence. The Czech Republic was born in Philadelphia in Independence Hall.

We are not trying to buy the economic enslavement of Europe

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with our generosity, as the Soviets, who have already enslaved half of that continent, dishonestly charge. As Undersecretary of State Acheson put it, the United States "is defending the rights of weaker peoples democratically to achieve, without outside interference, political stability, economic progress and social achievement." That is not imperialism or economic slave-driving. It is democracy at work.

The Soviet Union wants us to spend money in their sphere of influence but not to receive any credit for it from the people. Hence the campaign of vituperation in which the Czechs are proving so adept.

The only proper answer to that is to turn off the supply of dollars. Stop handing out food and war equipment and millions of dollars to those who are our open enemies! Stop being Uncle Sap!

—*The Philadelphia Inquirer*

HEAVY-HANDED

The cracking down by the State Department on Czechoslovakia in the matter of a loan because that country supported Russia's charges of American economic imperialism in Europe will tend to confirm rather than offset the accusation—and that is unfortunate. For classical economic imperialism functioned to obtain its ends not only by loans but also by withholding loans or threats to withhold loans. We give the appearance of doing just what we punish Czechoslovakia for saying we are doing.

The act of the State Department will furnish the material out of which the Soviet Union and its satellite states can make effective propaganda.

The cancelling of the remaining $40,000,000 of a $50,000,000 credit to Czechoslovakia to enable that country to purchase United States Army surplus material in Europe because that country had negotiated the sale of $10,000,000 worth of surplus material to Rumania at a profit is something else again, but is a matter that could have been straightened out between United States and Czech diplomats after the latter's explanations had been forthcoming.

It is unfortunate that an over-sensitive State Department, or our over-wrought and harassed representatives in Europe, should have used such heavy-handed methods upon Czechoslovakia, of all the nations within the iron curtain. For if we have one friend within the orbit of Russian influence, it is Czechoslovakia. Their staunch champion after the last war was Woodrow Wilson. Their President Benes is as intelligent a democrat as there is in Europe, and their Foreign Minister, Jan Masaryk, son of the late

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great president, is too thoroughly westernized in every respect to ever be converted to the Communist way of life as are the Czechs.

For reasons that go back to Munich, which the Czechs will never get out of their minds, the foreign policy of that land has been oriented to the Soviet Union. Our State Department should have taken all the circumstances into consideration, balancing for and against our particular policies, before setting a friendly nation within the iron curtain back on its ear. On the record as it stands, it seems that the State Department has erred.

—*The Providence Evening Bulletin*

CZECHS LIBERATED

Russia's satellite states in Eastern Europe must stop villifying the United States or do without any more American money.

For that, the Czechs have only Russia to thank. If the Czechs meant it when they backed up Communist charges that our loans and charitable relief to war-ravaged Europe are "capitalist infiltration," they should really be grateful for our withdrawal. According to the propaganda to which they lent their voices at Paris, our dollars are links in chains for their eventual enslavement.

The American people also can be deeply pleased at the turn of events. We do not want to exploit anybody anywhere. In World War I we made it possible for Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland to exist as nations. For our services, we neither asked nor received a penny or a square foot of soil. After that war, most of the public and private loans we made in Europe went sour. If that was "capitalist infiltration," we want no more of it.

It's time for us to send and lend to our friends—and to our friends only.

—*Chicago Daily News*

CRACKDOWN ON CZECHS

Admittedly, the State Department faces a difficult decision in the matter of Export-Import Bank credits to Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, it seems of the greatest importance that the State Department proceed most carefully about penalizing this people.

The Czech government is in a position inevitably making for a degree of pro-Russian—and, just now at least, anti-American—orientation. But the Czech people need not follow this official and enforced drift. If we continue to treat the Czech poeple as friends, we can continue to look for two results: the people will

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continue unresponsive to anti-American agitation in the controlled Czech press, and the agitation will be tempered to conform to the reality of popular feeling. Proof enough of that lies in the fact that the Russian government obviously would like at present to bar American periodicals from the newsstands of Prague. That this is not happening may be safely attributed to realism rather than a change of heart at Moscow.

In these circumstances, it is very hard to see how the State Department hopes to show that we are not waging dollar diplomacy by the act of withholding dollars and goods from Czechoslovakia if their officials do not accede to our suggestions.

At least one other of the grounds seems suspect. The present economic condition of Czechoslovakia should not be compared with that of Bulgaria, for instance, but with the Czech norm. Once subsistence is assured any people, their "economic condition" is more psychological than material.

Manifestly this is not a simple situation, and the sentimental admonition to give the Czechs anything they want regardless of what their officials do should be no part of long-range advice like this. However, it does seem well worth pointing out again that we have in Czechoslovakia a traditional friendship to remember and our best opportunity to keep and deepen the psychological beachhead in Eastern Europe, and that we should proceed with the greatest care in any course of action jeopardizing both.

—*The San Francisco Chronicle*

• Dime: a dollar with all the taxes taken out.

—*Wall Street Journal*

• "I don't ever want to be king again, ever", Patrick Murphy, five-year old king of a harvest festival, said after his queen let a door slam on his fingers. (The Greeks should try that one.)

• An East End Kid (London) was beating up a youngster from another part of that city. His gang was watching him affectionately. He blacked the victim's eyes, knocked out some of his teeth and rolled him in the mud. He was then at a loss for something else to do. A voice from the crowd said: "Breave on 'im, 'Erb, and give 'im your 'ooping cough!"

• David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the T.V.A., tells of a hill woman who came to a small mountain school to 'pick up a little l'arnin' ". She only wanted to learn to write her name, and she departed after she had accomplished this feat.

When school reopened in the fall, the woman returned with the new arrivals. She explained that she only wanted to learn how to write her name.

"But you learned that last year", the teacher reminded her.

"Shore", the woman agreed, "but since then I've gone and got married".

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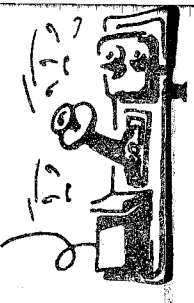
FIFTY YEARS of FORUM

1886 ~~~~ 1946



Every era has its critics and FORUM in 1896, just as today in 1946, took pride in presenting varying viewpoints and divergent opinions.

In 1896, an advocate of education reform remarks—

> *"We have scarcely yet ceased to laud and magnify our great World's Fair at Chicago. As an exhibition of material civilization in vast structures of pure and classic beauty, no praise can be too high for it. But our foreign visitors did not carry away such exalted impressions of our attainments in those things of the spirit which alone give to human life its worth and dignity."*

A controversy on the merits of the East versus the West brings forth this comment—

> "It is unquestionably true that the average stay-at-home citizen of the East has entirely failed to measure the muscle of the West.
>
> ". . . the great weakness of the country is in the medium or average intelligence of the West, and this spreads well toward the Alleghenies."

Feeling was intense in the conflict between the Republicans and the Democrats in 1896. Just as the opinions of the contributors were reflected in the pages of FORUM, so the unsolicited opinions of a certain reader were scribbled between the lines for the benefit of posterity:

The author's remark: "Yet the President is still the first man in the estimation of his party, while he commands the respect and admiration of the country at large."

Reader's comment: *"What a lie."*

The author continues: "At the end of the last Republican Administration the Treasury was in distress. The gold reserve had fallen to the danger point; the extravagant appropriations by the Republican Congress of an unprecedented amount had eaten up the $100,000,000 surplus of the preceding Democratic Administration."

The reader comments: *"No regard for the truth whatever!"*

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FORUM: WHO SHOULD

THE RIPARIANS!

By P. T. O'Connell

IF Gilbert and Sullivan were alive, they would surely find material for a libretto in the debate of the foreign ministers at Paris over the control of the Danube. Foreign Secretary Byrnes, farthest away from the Danube, stood firmly for the principle of "free navigation", i. e., control by an international commission made up of representatives of the commercial nations and the riparian states. He insisted that a clause guaranteeing free trade on the Danube be included in the Rumanian peace treaty. When Mr. Molotov pointed out that this was an attempt to dictate policy to the riparians, and, in effect, impinged their sovereignty, Mr. Byrnes backed down a step. He knew that the cooperation of the United States Senate had been bought with the veto, the grand guarantee of sovereignty. Perhaps he recalled the reply of the United States to the Conference of Berlin, 1884-85, when it extended "free navigation for merchantmen of all flags with most perfect equality" to the Congo and all the rivers of Europe and America. The United States declared that no European Congress could "regulate, directly or indirectly the rights applicable to American jurisdiction." Although Mr. Byrnes agreed to Mr. Bevin's plan of getting the accord of riparian states as well as that of the Big Four, he reserved a right to go back to his original stand.

GREAT BRITAIN

Foreign Secretary Bevin, a step nearer the Danube, also fought for "free navigation." He explained to the House of Commons that the Danube was the main traffic artery between central and southern Europe, although in reality it flows "the wrong way" as far as European trade is concerned. Any Russian knows that the Danube flows into the Black Sea. It is, therefore, the key to the Straits and to Russian security as well as the European outlet for trade from the Black Sea and Asia. Danubia was also Hitler's springboard for his attack upon Russia in 1941.

Mr. Bevin protested that he merely wanted to assure a "full belly" to the peoples of the Danubian states.

Foreign Secretary Molotov, in whose backyard the Danube flows, claimed that only the riparians should exercise control over the Danube. "Things are seldom what they seem", he charged. Economic imperialism masquerades as "free navigation." Britain he openly accused of trying to regain her former position in the Near East.

Such is the logic of our fears that although history supports Mr. Molotov, his policy on the Danube has been bewailed as "obstruction."

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ONTROL THE DANUBE?

AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION!

By J. C. Williams

THE phrasing of the statement of this debate poses an immediate dilemma. My opponent, on the face of it, upholds the rights of the riparian states to administer their own affairs, and I am forced to defend foreign domination of Danubian economic life. Look but a little deeper into the argument, however, and you find that my opponent stands for Russian control of the Danube, while my "international commission", in theory at least, would enforce a degree of free trade.

The proposals of the United Kingdom and the United States *in re* the Danube are found in the three draft treaties for Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, recently passed by the Paris Peace Conference over Russia's objections. Article 32 of the Bulgarian treaty states that:

"Navigation on the Danube River, its navigable tributaries and connecting canals shall be free and open on terms of entire equality to the nationals, vessels of commerce and goods of all states."

Russia's counter-proposal reads:

"The question of the Danube cannot be solved by the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, since it has to be settled with the participation of the Danubian states which include Allied states such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The delegation of the U.S.S.R., therefore, proposes not to have the provisions relating to the Danube included in the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary."

Although the clauses on the Danube were included in spite of Russian objections, it must be remembered that the Big Four must finally pass on the treaties and that the U.S.S.R. may once again exercise the veto power.

EAST VS. WEST

Underlying the polite diplomatic phrases of the treaty clauses is the deep conflict between the Communist East and the capitalist West. The question: who should control the Danube? must be placed in its political and economic setting. At this writing, of the so-called riparian states, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary are conquered enemy countries occupied by Russian armies. No one, and least of all my opponent, denies that they are Russian dominated. The other Danubian states mentioned by the Russian counter-proposal are Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. One has only to glance at their voting record in the Paris Conference to see that these states, too, are part of the Russian bloc. Riparian control, therefore, means Russian control, and Russian control means communist domination.

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(Continued from page 528)

If we examine this "obstruction" to "free navigation" against the backdrop of the contending imperialisms of the nineteenth century, Russian and British, we, too, may support riparian control.

Britain's imperial position is now indeed precarious. The approaches to India are no longer secure. That country itself is weakened by the birth agony of independence. Egypt can demand the withdrawal of British troops. The Soudanese threaten to take their case to the United Nations. Defense positions have not yet been secured in Eastern Africa. The Zionists have upset the Arab world. Azerbaijan is unsettled. Nor is Britain's economic horizon any brighter—she must "export or die."

In the light of these facts, Mr. Bevin's concern with the bellies of the Balkans seems admirable. We suspect, however, that Britain is trying to reassume her nineteenth century position: safety for India, economic and political dominance of the Near East.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution, delayed momentarily by the Napoleonic Wars, burst with tremendous energy after 1815. Although England had a head start, the Industrial Revolution soon crossed the channel. The continental states, anxious to "protect their infant industries", raised tariffs fairly steadily for the 40 years following the Napoleonic Wars. This forced Great Britain, then in the heyday of protectionism, to seek new markets. India and the Near East assumed new value in her eyes. In 1827, she sold only $7,500,000 worth of goods to Russia and only a third as much to Turkey and Greece. In 1845, she sold $10,750,000 to Russia; $11,050,000 to Turkey and Greece. By 1849, sales to Turkey alone amounted to $12,000,000.

England's agrarian interests were protected by the Corn Laws—no grain could be brought into England until the price reached 80 shillings a quarter. Many European countries had similar grain laws. This policy discouraged grain production in the East as grain demands from the West could never be gauged accurately. They were directly related to productivity at home, flood, fire or drought causing havoc. The Free Traders of Manchester gained ground during the thirties. There was a disastrous potato famine in Ireland in 1845, and the rains of 1846 literally "rained away the Corn Laws."

England soon realized that if she was to become dominant industrially, she must depend almost entirely upon imports for her food. This in turn forced her to expand the markets for her manufactured goods. In 1837, 432 British ships left Constantinople but in 1848, two years after the repeal of the Corn Laws, 1,397 ships left that port! Commerce was the life blood of empire, and she was prepared to defend or extend it by arms. Witness the First Opium War, 1840-42, by which Britain forced herself into China.

The restrictive navigation laws were repealed in 1854. The invention of the screw propellor and the perfection of the steamship revolutionized transportation during this period. Britain's maritime and naval fleets made

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her the undisputed mistress of the seas. (As *1066* points out, "freedom of the seas" equals "Rule, Britannia!") The Golden Age of British Commerce did not, however, reach its storied proportions until after 1853. For Britain, then as now, feared Russia as a potential imperial rival in the Near East.

RUSSIA A RIVAL

The land area of the Near East slips into an imperial pocket neatly. It is never touched by the open ocean. Whoever has the strongest navy can control Gibraltar, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and all the trade routes between East and West.

Russia has a permanent, direct interest in the Near East and the Balkans. The "historic mission of the Tsars", i. e., domination of Danubia, was constantly reiterated by the Papacy, Poland and the Hapsburgs from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Russia adopted it as her foreign policy in the eighteenth century. In 1739, she advanced to the Dnieper as the "liberator awaited by all the Balkan peoples." She helped Serbia revolt in 1804. In 1811, she occupied Belgrade and obtained Bessarabia from Turkey by the Treaty of Bucharest, 1812. This gave her control of the Kilia arm of the Danube to the sea and a riparian interest. In 1826, Russia secured the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia (Rumania), posing as the protector of all Slavs. The Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, gained the islands of the delta of the Danube and Soulina, the most navigable of its three mouths. Russia also obtained from the Turks freedom of commerce in the Black Sea, the Straits and the lower Danube, the most important avenues for her expanding trade. She exported 92-94 per cent of all her goods by sea.

The Southern provinces of Russia expanded their production of wheat, linseed oil, tallow and wool. Odessa on the Black Sea became the most important export point of all Russia. After the repeal of the Corn Laws, Britain was dependent on Odessa for wheat, taking two thirds of her total export by 1850.

Russia helped defend Constantinople in the Greek and Egyptian wars of revolt against the Ottoman Turks. Turkey agreed in the Treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi, 1833, to close the Straits to enemies of Russia in case of war.

By 1853, Russia, with a high tariff, an expanding merchant marine and naval dominance in the Black Sea, was the greatest obstacle to the spread of British economic imperialism in the Near East. "The bear that walks like a man" had settled himself on the borders of India and competed with Britain in Turkey and Persia.

Fear of Russia shaped Palmerston's thinking. Maintenance of the practically defunct Ottoman Empire became the pivot of British foreign policy in the Near East. Britain and her ally, Austria, began to encourage grain production in the Turkish and Danubian provinces in opposition to the trade at Odessa. In 1843, seven ships left Galatz for England with 7,000 imperial quarters of grain. In 1849, 128 vessels left, carrying 298,392 imperial quarters. Britain took a third of the total shipping on the Danube. She implemented her policy by trading manufactured goods for grain on a reciprocal

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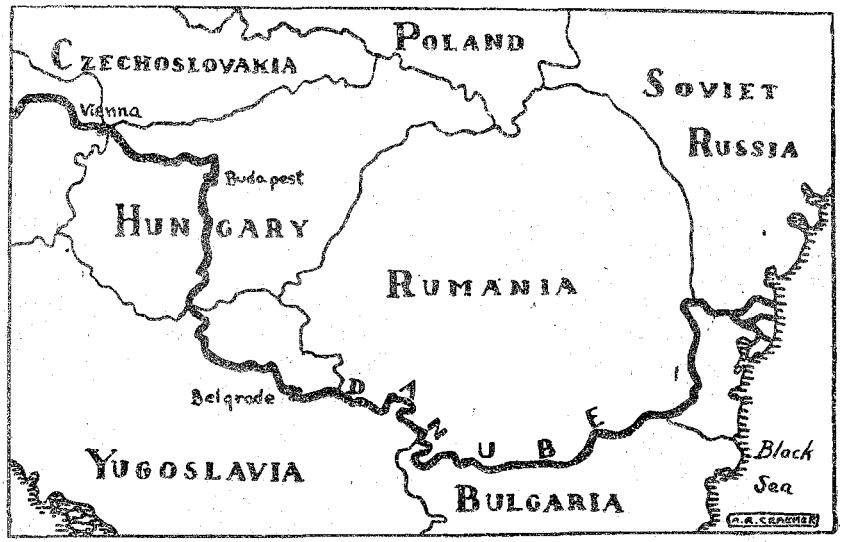

DANUBIA

basis. Moldavia and Wallachia, now valued for oil, were encouraged to produce wheat.

Mutual suspicion between Russia and Britain grew like a weed. The two nations matched ship for ship, man for man, gun for gun. Britain bent every effort to keep the treaty of Unkiar-Iskelessi from being put into effect. In the meanwhile, she tutored Turkey in the principles of free trade. Turkey was so weak she had no choice but to go free trade to the great advantage of Britain.

Russia was not, however, strong enough to cope with the Ottoman Empire against a European coalition. The Crimean War gave Britain her opportunity to push Russia out of the Balkans and the Black Sea. Russia had to withdraw from Bessarabia. Turkey was recognized as a Great Power in 1856, her independence being guaranteed by England, France and Austria. Britain primed Turkey as the guarantor of British security in the Near East, although in doing so, she postponed the solution to the tragic "Near Eastern Question" for the remainder of the century. This postponement was one of the nineteenth century's political tragedies.

Britain emerged from the Crimean War with half a million tons of overseas shipping. India was safe. Political and economic dominion of the British Empire swelled and was to burst in a new fervor of activity in 1870 when Disraeli bought Suez.

Mindful of this, Mr. Molotov perhaps suspects that Britain will use a new International Commission of the Danube as she used the European Commission.

The Conference of Vienna, 1855-56, set up two Danube commissions.

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The first, an international one, was to plan river improvements and draw up a code of navigation. The second commission, composed of the riparian states, was to deal with the problems of administration. The European Commission was designed as a temporary expedient to be dissolved by common consent after two years. The European Commission, of course, became permanent and the riparian commission never functioned, due to the criticism of Britain.

The jurisdiction of the Commission applied only to the lower river as the Austrian Steamship Company had been granted an 80 year monopoly of the upper river in 1831. Nevertheless, the Commission became an administrative and judicial as well as an engineering and planning commission with more extensive powers than were ever held by any other river regulating company. Britain, as the chief supporter of the Commission, extended it for five years in 1866 and tried to extend its jurisdiction to Bralia. In 1871, the Commission was extended another 12 years although Britain wanted 26.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 put Russia back on the Danube in Bessarabia. The Treaty of London, 1883, extended the life of the Commission for 21 years, although the riparians, Austria, Hungary and Russia, objected.

Article 331 of the Versailles Treaty proclaimed the Danube to be an international river. A commission of non-riparians was favored. The European Commission resumed its old powers with representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Rumania. Russia lost Bessarabia and her riparian interest.

To be sure, The Covenant of the League of Nations held that freedom of navigation on international rivers was a part of the general freedom of communications and transit. Not one of the European members of the Commission, however, felt called upon to defend this freedom when it was menaced by Hitler.

Russia declared in 1883 that freedom of navigation "could no longer be in question, either today or ever, either here or anywhere else".

Once again Russia is a riparian of the Danube. She is not opposed to the great principle of free navigation, *per se*. She is opposed to control of the Danube by a commission of extra-riparians who were not above using this position to fortify their imperial bastions and to weaken Russia. For the question of the Danube is first of all a question of Russia's security. The West has been ruthless and sometimes blind in its pursuit of security. Witness Munich or the "Near Eastern" and "Irish Questions" that plagued Britain in the nineteenth century. What guarantee of security can we offer Russia? Our possession of the atomic bomb aggravates her distrust.

(Continued from page 529)

Why should communist domination of the Danube be any more important to us than British dominion of India? First, the geographic position of the Danube makes this region vital in European and world affairs.

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The Danube River rises in the Black Forest of Germany and flows 1750 miles to the farthest rim of Eastern Europe. South Germany, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Russia—all these lands lie on its banks. The river touches the centers of settlement of eleven peoples—who practice all the major creeds of Christianity, Mohammedism and Judaism. Every stage of economic development, every variety of government, is represented in the riparian states. The nations of the Danube are ethnically chaotic: southern Bessarabia, for example, contains 13 or 14 different nationalities. While ethnic confusion weakens the several Danube states, powerful single nation-states lie on their borders. The once powerful Germans bulk large on the upper waters of the Danube; 80 million Russians and 35 million Ukrainians border on the East; across narrow mountain ranges there are 40 million Italians.[1]

GEOGRAPHIC POSITION

Geographically, the Danube links central Europe with Asia; its exposed mouth feeds into the Black Sea—part of the great, vulnerable road leading to the warm waters of the Mediterranean. Undoubtedly the Danube is "one of the great international highways of the world."

Aside from its value as an international highway, the Danube region lies in the "heartland of Europe." It had long been a favorite geo-political theory that the nation controlling the heartland of Europe can control the world. This makes even more significant Russian attempts to dominate this region.

Obviously, the question of trade along the Danube is complex as well as important. About 75,000,000 persons are concerned; their economic well-being, the imperial and economic interests of the British Empire and the trade interests of the United States, as well as Russian hopes for warm water ports, are all involved.

For their part, the Russians view the Danube as a vast new empire. According to Foreign Commissar Molotov, open trade relations between the Danubian states and the rest of the world would benefit only those countries strong enough to dominate smaller states by the weight of their capital. On the other hand, the Russians offer enormous markets for Danubian products, and later they will be able to provide ample funds for goods.

The United States, Great Britain and France oppose Russian domination for three reasons: the interest of their nationals, the balance of power in Europe and the long-term interest of the Danube states themselves. France has $60,000,000 in French interests in Rumanian oil wells and Hungarian textile mills alone, plus some 105,000 railway cars believed to be in Rumania and Hungary. The $55,000,000 worth of American interests is relatively much less important to the United States, which is less interested in pro-

[1] Rumanians (14,000,000); Magyars (12,000,000); Czechs (7,500,000); Serbs (7,000,000); Bulgars (5,500,000); Croats (3,500,000); Slovaks (2,500,000); Slovenes (1,000,000)—Macartney, *Problems of the Danube Basin*, p. 4.

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tecting its investments than in preventing Russian domination of the Danube.

As outlined by *The New York Times*, Americans are concerned with four important issues: 1. Whether the U.S.S.R. is to control the economies of the Danube countries by bilateral agreements; 2. Whether the outside world can trade with these countries or whether they are going to form a customs union under Soviet domination; 3. Whether property damage to Western nations is to be adequately compensated; 4. Whether the Danube River is to be internationalized or monopolized by the Soviet Union.

As for the British, self-interest leads them to seek for free markets and freer world trade, without which their people must accept a lower standard of living. Both Britain and the United States, further, are concerned lest Russia upset the precarious balance of power by monopoly of the Danube—threatening the British imperial lifeline (now vital to the United States) and controlling the important heartland of Europe. Russian control of this region, like German control, would threaten Great Britain and the United States. Russia's currently strong grip on Austria only adds to Western fears. As Antonin Basch points out: "Austria belongs to the Danube group economically, politically and geographically; she holds a key position for maintaining a workable balance in this part of Europe."

It seems evident that, setting aside the interests of the Danubian states, it is not to the interest of the Western powers to permit monopoly control of the Danube. The Russian drive into Southeast Europe looks from here to be too much like the German *Drang nach Osten*, undertaken to provide raw materials for autarchy and, eventually, for war.

The Russians have never affirmed that Russian (or riparian) control of the Danube will benefit the Western powers; they do claim, however, as does my opponent, that riparian control will benefit the Danube states. The Russians have charged that free trade is a mere cloak for "predatory capitalism", forcing the Balkans to keep trade doors open against their better judgment.

It is my contention that Russian control of the Danube will differ little from German control, which was manifestly not in the best interests of the Danube states. As Secretary of State Byrnes put it in his reply to Molotov last August:

"Would anyone suggest that those countries, which were the principal objects of German economic penetration and encirclement, should continue under the same system of economic relationship but that they should merely substitute for Germany some other country upon which they would be almost entirely dependent for supplies and for markets? It is out of such arrangements, and not out of non-discriminatory trade, that enslavement and exploitation arise."

To say that Russian control of the Danube will not differ from German control is not to say that Communism and Naziism are identical. It is obvious, however, that neither of these systems contemplates free international trade; both systems flourish best in a self-sufficient state of autarchy.

The principle that free trade is desirable has long been part of demo-

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cratic concepts of world organization. According to the League of Nations publication, *Network of World Trade,* "Modern civilization is based on a world economy which functions through a system of multilateral trade of a specific pattern that embraces the whole world." When Germany upset this pattern in Eastern Europe, it was bad for the Danube states and bad for the world.

GERMAN POLICY

Germany had never accepted the Versailles dictum in the East. The most important country in Danubian trade, Germany, had helped to create the economic difficulties of the thirties through her own protectionist policies. None-the-less, in the period between 1919 and 1933, the Danube states had been completely unable to stabilize their economies.

At about the same time, in 1934, Germany shifted emphasis from export to import, accompanied by complete export-import and exchange control, under the "New Plan." Multilateral trade and the concept of international division of production were abandoned and the concept of "supplementary economies" was introduced in their place. The advantages of the Danubian states to a Germany preparing for war were numerous. Their economies supplemented hers, providing her with raw materials and agricultural products. They were accessible by land. In addition, they were weak states, not totalitarian in government, and therefore handicapped in any attempt to free themselves from Germany. To extend her economic penetration, Germany paid high prices at an artificial mark exchange rate. After the annexation of Austria, German dominance grew still stronger, and with the Pact of Munich the western democracies abandoned the Danube states altogether.

BILATERALISM

This German dominance clearly illustrated the dangers of bilateralism to small countries. The Germans, like the Russians today, were interested in autarchy, not in developing expanding markets for mutual benefit. Without economic unity, the Danube states had no freedom to buy or sell, no intergration with Germany or with one another, no possibility of adjustment on the part of Germany. Gradually German exploitation reduced them to "colonial or semi-colonial" status. As Mr. Basch points out: ". . . The Nazi commercial policy demonstrated that there is no real possibility of remaining on a basis of even relatively free trade, once commerce with a totalitarian state has absorbed a large portion of a country's total trade." Mr. Basch's conclusion forms part of the thesis of this debate:

"Experience with bilateral trade, clearing agreements and total import control (permit system) furnish unambiguous evidence that the smaller countries, in particular, should be interested in multilateral trade and in trade carried on without any restrictions applied to each separate transaction."

In order to stabilize the Danubian economies, the standard of living of their peoples must be raised; industry must be developed, modern agricultural methods must be introduced into Balkan economies. There is no reason to

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believe that the Russians are interested in the well-being of the Danubian peoples. Exaggerated protectionism, or autarchy, chokes off the possibility of expanding world trade and a rising standard of living for eastern European groups. It can be argued, I believe, that the European economy demands a shift from energy foods to more protective foods (such as fruit, meat, dairy products, vegetables). Although the production of such protective foods will get under way more easily in more advanced countries, the Danubian states, with the production of cereals and fodder, should be able to make a real contribution to a shifting European economy. It immediately becomes obvious, however, that not only Russia but the Western Powers must make some major adjustments in order to raise the standard of living along the Danube. High agricultural prices, in the United States, will depress the economy of the Danube as effectively as did German expansion.

There can be little doubt that under Russian control the economy of the Danube states will be geared to the Russian economy as a whole. The standard of living of Czechoslovakia and Austria will suffer more, because it is higher to begin with, than the standard of living of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Because Russian autarchy, like German autarchy, will tend inevitably to exploitation, and because Russian collectivism will not solve the Danube problem, it is obvious that riparian, i. e., Russian control, will not benefit the Danube states. It is of course not certain that international control can do better. If the international commission should be Russian-dominated, it will be no more useful than Russian control; if it is dominated by Western powers who are building up their own autarchic systems, the Danube states will gain nothing. It may be hoped, however, that an international commission may work toward freer trade between the Danube states and the rest of the world, Russia included, and may bring about a readjustment of agricultural prices that will permit development of Danubian markets.

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OUR

OUR ROSTRUM is your platform. You are invited to submit letters on any of the issues or articles published in FORUM. The best letters will be printed in this column each month. As in the past, the editor must reserve the right to publish letters in part only because of space limitations.

EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

To the Editor:—

Many Japanese, as well as American educators, praised General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in the Pacific, when in January, 1946, he asked the War Department to send to Japan a group of American educators to discuss with the Japanese educators and the members of his staff a new educational program which would aid Japan to join the United Nations eventually.

Another factor in the strategic importance of education in the United States is the important role our country may play in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The question appropriately arises: How fit are we to serve as physicians? How much must our educators be educated to help U.N.E.S.C.O. play its rôle? Some of our shortcomings are indicated by the investigations of the American Council of Education whose recent booklet, "Treatment of Asia in American Textbooks," has been published jointly with the Institute of Pacific Relations. A becoming modesty in our approach to the reform of education in Japan and to our work in U.N.E.S.C.O. would be induced by this examination by recognized scholars and experts of 108 textbooks used in our schools.

The examiners declared:

"Textbooks in modern problems, in civics, and in world history are glaringly deficient in their recognition of Asiatic topics."

Some of the subjects which were ignored were the Asiatic elements in history, art, philosophy, the Asiatic reaction to the imperialism of the Western powers and the wide variations in the cultures of the Asiatic millions. India is more than the Taj Mahal and the Ganges. Rice is not the only food grown in China. Pictures of the Japanese pagodas, cherry blossoms and chrysanthemums are not enough.

"In all the textbooks examined students are led to see the culture, civilization, and standards of living of the peoples of the East only through Western eyeglasses, which means those of a highly industrialized civilization. This may, and does, create in our boys and girls a feeling of superi-

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ority and a patronizing, pitying attitude. The 'poor' Chinese, or Japanese, or Indians, may be liked, but the average textbook does little to engender respect for them as human beings on an equal basis with Americans."

"Increased emphasis could well be given to biographical sketches of Asiatic leaders, now only casually mentioned or omitted altogether. Among those recommended for fuller treatment are Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Genghis Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru, Ito Hirobumi, Toyotomi Hide-yoshi, Manuel Quezon . . ."

Self-righteousness is also present in our school books dealing with Asia:

"The fact that the United States took an active part in the 'scramble for backward countries' is generally ignored. Yet it is into the pattern of nineteenth-century imperialism that the Spanish-American war and the expansion of the United States in the Pacific can best be fitted, and only in that way can more recent events be clearly understood. . . .

The American Council of Education has to its credit another more compendious job, *Latin America in School and College Teaching Material* (1944).

As in the treatment of Asia, the picturesque, the quaint and the spectacular receive too much attention in pictures and words. One text in telling the story of a Mexican family, the father of which is a distinguished urban lawyer, shows the family embarking on a plane for Europe barefooted and in peon clothes. One author seems to make all Mexicans illiterate, occupied with servile tasks, and living at a low subsistence level. Another says flatly that in Latin America "family life is unstable." In discussing Mexican village life, one author states that a hut "is usually a single room, in which men, women, babies, chickens, dogs, and pigs all live together," and then adds, "How different from our homes, with their electric lights, gas stoves, vacuum cleaners, telephones, pianos, phonographs, and other comforts and luxuries!" "The student is left to believe that all Mexican homes are huts and all homes in the United States are models of luxury, convenience and labor-saving devices."

If through U.N.E.S.C.O. the various attempts to revise the textbooks are coordinated and continued, the foundations for mutual understanding among the people of the world will have been well and truly laid. The voters of tomorrow whose needs were so well described in the October issue of *The Forum* will thus be better prepared to discuss international problems.

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The people win

Party Government in Congress

By Morley G. Dilke

SHORTLY after the election the Gallup Poll asked: "Should the Congress elected in November pass new laws to control labor unions?" Slightly more than 60 per cent of the people queried thought Congress should. (Of the remaining 35 per cent, 10 per cent, were undecided). Unfortunately for logic, most issues do not reach Congress in as simple a form as this.

The election, after all, was not between the C.I.O. and the N.A.M. Only about 20 per cent of the people employed are members of any labor union, C.I.O., A.F.L. or independent. The members of the N.A.M. are few in number although they represent great industrial strength.

At about the same time, Senator Fulbright of Arkansas suggested that President Truman appoint Senator Vandenberg Secretary of State and then resign, thus turning over the Presidency to the party victorious in the election. He obviously believes that a cabinet form of government is better than our government of checks and balances.

It is possible to make a case for a cabinet form of government just as it is possible to make a case for a dictatorship or an aristocracy, but for the moment we are confronted with the fact that we have a democracy which was deliberately set up with checks and balances. One of the most obvious of these checks occurs when the President of one party is confronted by either one or both houses of Congress in which the other party has a majority.

Furthermore, we have a governmental system which was set up by men who feared the tendency of governments to add constantly to their powers over the individual—men who believed that the state has an inevitable tendency to override the individual—men who saw this system of checks and balances as a definite method of preventing the men in control of one branch of the government from getting control of all branches.

Jefferson said, "That government governs best which governs least." But Jefferson, when he was President, was instrumental in effecting the Louisiana Purchase. The Louisiana Purchase probably did more to strengthen the federal government and to extend its functions than any act of any other President. Then, at the end of his second term, Jefferson emphasized his belief in rotation in office by refusing to run for a third term and by starting a tradition which endured for almost 150 years.

And, just before Jefferson was

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inaugurated, John Adams appointed John Marshall (then Secretary of State) Chief Justice. John Marshall was a convinced Federalist and was determined to extend the powers of the federal government. The United States grew and prospered either because of, or in spite of, its government of checks and balances. And the very growth caused wider differences of interests to appear.

At first, in the South, there were wealthy planters. Their interests were not exactly the same as those of the men who went into the back country to clear land for themselves. Both were more dependent on Europe than on New England and the Middle Atlantic States for manufactured goods.

There were the Federalists — Washington and John Marshall in Virginia—as well as Republicans (Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson.) Samuel Adams in Massachusetts was as convinced a Republican as John Adams was a Federalist. The divisions were not wholly geographical although geography played some part in them.

In New York State, Alexander Hamilton was the leading Federalist. His "the people — the people is a great beast" has played almost as great a part in American political thinking as the Jefferson dictum on government quoted above. Aaron Burr was the first leader of Tammany Hall. DeWitt Clinton was the Republican (Democratic) leader of New York state for years.

Here we have the groups which have continued to play a leading part in American politics ever since. The agrarian South; the industrial East; banking, in Colonial days, first under Robert Morris and Nicholas Biddle in Philadelphia; the New England merchants who bought, sold and transported their goods, and the first of the big city political machines which always have depended upon the votes of the relatively dispossessed. They have never been as interested in correcting the conditions about which they complained —but they have always been willing to help ameliorate them.

The truth of the matter is that we have often had elections which were seemingly based on simple direct statements of principle such as the question asked by the Gallup Poll. But these simple direct questions cut across other issues which are involved in the same elections. From the first Congress until the Civil War, slavery was an issue of increasing importance. But during this period of time New York saw the rent riots which grew out of the vast grants of land along the Hudson to the Dutch patroons. Andrew Jackson clashed with Nicholas Biddle and did away with "The Bank", and he clashed with South Carolina and John Calhoun over states rights.

In general, the federal government grew in strength and power. Under Jackson, it aided the relatively dispossessed in their struggles for a fairer share of the national wealth.

From the Civil War to World War I, the federal government was dominated by the Republicans. They were the more or less direct inheritors of the Federalist point

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of view modified by the growth of the United States and the effects of industrial revolution on American life. Pennsylvania was both the greatest industrial state and the stronghold of the Republican party. Its manufacturers were sure that their prosperity was tied up with the tariff. Its working people thought that a "full dinner pail," a high tariff and Republican victory at the polls were all synonymous.

The Republicans had the whole hearted support of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the political machines of Cameron, Quay and Penrose in Pennsylvania as well as of their Ohio counterparts.

FREE TRADE

The merchants were believers in free trade. So the Democrats were supported by the New York merchants, their bankers, and the various international bankers who were interested in the inter-change of goods between Europe and the United States, the shipping lines and the railroads that handle goods in transit both ways.

The farmers of the Middle West were almost as good Republicans as the laborers of Pennsylvania; probably first because of their opposition to the Democratic party, as the party of the South and slavery, and second because of their sentimental and practical ties with the G. O. P. and the G. A. R.

Obviously the manufacturers, because of the dominance of their high tariff policies, were the greatest beneficiaries of Republican party. Eventually the farmers began to think in terms of the inequity of their lot. They set out to reform the Republican party and eventually became protectionists themselves. In this, the wheat farmers were joined by the cotton farmers of the South, and the Democrats began to talk softly about free trade.

World War I found the United States the strongest industrial nation in the world. But it found the United States with a Democratic President for the second time since the Civil War. That President was determined more nearly to equalize the relative positions of farmer and laborer and manufacturer. Nevertheless, necessities of war forced a great growth of the industrial United States. The United States price structure was so high that Europe contracted debts that were impossible to pay except by an enormous increase of trade with the United States. And the Democrats, the party devoted to lower prices, lower tariffs and free trade, lost the control of the government after the war. The Republicans were, for the moment, convinced of the efficacy of high wages, high prices and high tariffs.

All of this broke down in 1929 and in 1932. The Republicans were decisively beaten on a campaign which pledged the Democrats to an effort to reduce governmental expenditures, balance the budget and reduce tariffs. Now no sane man can promise to reduce tariffs and mean it, without facing the fact that this will lead to lower prices in the United States.

But the Democratic party which had campaigned for a balanced budget and lower tariffs was in reality

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made up in large part of dissatisfied Republicans — Republican farmers dissatisfied because they could not get together enough cash to pay their debts and Republican industrial workers dissatisfied because their wages were low and their work was uncertain or because they were out of work altogether. The farm leaders thought in terms of higher prices for cotton — the leaders of organized labor, in terms of higher wages and social security.

The Democratic party of 1932, Jefferson or no Jefferson, was committed to improving the lot of the average man by legislation. Again World War II upset all the domestic plans of a Democratic administration. In the process, the administration built up a series of controls too complicated to be made workable. And, in November, it lost the election, not because the N.A.M. had convinced the people that the C.I.O. was wrong but because the people were tired of government regulation and, perhaps, convinced that leaders of organized labor were too strong.

Concretely, Congress does not deal with broad questions. It deals with such specific problems as, for instance, that of dehydrated potatoes. Congressmen are primarily concerned with the effects of their policies on the people of their own states, regardless of party and of broad economic considerations. This fact is obvious in the following excerpts from a typical debate (on potatoes[1]). Senator Overton of Oregon obviously wants sweet potatoes to have every advantage white potatoes will get from the bill. Senator Brewster is from Maine. Senator Ball is from Minnesota—a great wheat growing state.

No Senator who wants to balance the budget is as determined as the men who have concrete benefits to gain. This, unfortunately, is usually the case, but it is also the foundation of our political system and the basic reason for a government of checks and balances.

The election was won and lost on the practical working out of such details as the disposal of surplus potatoes, not on the basic determination to increase or decrease the strength of the N. A. M. or the C. I. O.

CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE

The Presiding Officer. The amendment offered by the Senator from Oregon will be stated.

The Chief Clerk. At the proper place in the bill it is proposed to insert the following:

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized to purchase surplus potatoes produced during the year 1946 and to process and sell, give, or otherwise dispose of such potatoes to any foreign country or to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for the relief of hungry people.

Mr. Overton. Mr. President, does the Senator's amendment include sweetpotatoes?

Mr. Cordon. The amendment re-

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fers to "potatoes" as such, and includes sweetpotatoes.

Mr. President, the sole purpose of the amendment is to put the government in a position where, if a situation is reached such as that which developed last year when there was a vast surplus of potatoes, a portion of them, at least, may be used for relief purposes and thereby reduce the necessity of diverting for relief use the more valuable cereal crops of this country. Last year there was a great surplus of potatoes. Under the present law, the government is required, and will be required for two years following the declaration by the President of the end of hostilities, to support the price of potatoes during an emergency. That means that the government must bail out the farmer for a certain period. Doing so will represent a dead loss unless the potatoes so purchased can be put to some use. Last year millions of bushels of potatoes were lost because of the type of storage which was provided, such as trenches or pits in the ground. It is hoped, Mr. President, that a similar loss will not recur this year.

The best information now obtainable is that there will be a surplus of from 75,000,000 to 85,000,000 bushels of potatoes at the end of the current year. So far as the farmers are concerned, there will be no loss because the government will support a price of approximately two cents a pound for potatoes, but if they cannot be utilized there will be a real food wastage. If the potatoes can be utilized for foreign relief, we can reduce the use of our cereals for such purpose. We will not only provide use for the surplus potatoes, but we will help this country maintain an adequate cereal supply. Only this year, due to the fact that we were not prepared last year to utilize our potato crop to its ultimate, and because in mid-spring there was a terrific drain on our own cereals for foreign relief, the government was compelled to increase the price of wheat and corn some 30 cents a bushel. A chronic condition existed in the poultry and dairy areas of the northeastern and northwestern sections of the United States. The cause of the condition was solely the fact that the cereal crop was not sufficient to take care of our own feed requirements for livestock, including dairy cattle and poultry.

Mr. President, it is hoped that if the requested authority is given to the Commodity Credit Corporation, which may or may not be exercised, depending on whether the use of surplus potatoes is indicated during the year, we shall be able to avoid not only another waste of potatoes but also the chronic situation which has faced our people during the past few months as a result of the terrific drain on all cereal supplies.

Mr. Ball. Mr. President, I wish to oppose the motion of the Senator from Oregon. The proposed amendment came before the committee at the very last minute when the committee was considering the bill. The amendment was supported by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Taylor] who told us about the prospect of a 75,000,000-bushel surplus of potatoes this fall. At that time he was proposing, as I recall, an appropriation of $15,000,000 to be used by the Commodity Credit Corporation in making contracts for the dehydration of surplus potatoes. Later the amendment was modified by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Cordon] who was authorized, by a vote of the committee of five to four, to offer it in the Senate. So the authorization is a wide-open one. The Commodity Credit Corporation may, under the amendment, expend any portion of

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its funds to contract for the dehydration of potatoes.

Mr. President, this matter was gone into thoroughly last fall when the War Department canceled a number of its large contracts for dehydrating potatoes.

U.N.R.R.A. had tried shipping raw potatoes, and they had to pump them out of the hold; they would not stand shipment in that form. A number of Senators and Representatives from potato-producing States, of which my State is one, tried their best to get U.N.R.R.A. to take over some of the canceled War Department contracts for dehydrated potatoes, because we had a surplus that year and we wanted U.N.R.R.A. to use them. It was going to cost the War Department quite a bit to cancel the contracts in any event. U.N.R.R.A. would not take them. They thought then it would be too difficult to train their people in Europe and Asia in the methods of preparing them so that they would be palatable. I think now, under the experience of the War Department, they could overcome that particular argument against them.

The main reason why they did not want to buy them is that dehydrated potatoes are about ten times as expensive as cereals for the amount of nutrition and calories in a pound of food.

I checked with the experts of the Department of Agriculture on dehydrated potatoes this morning. They told me they still have on hand some dehydrated potatoes which they bought for the War Department, but the War Department never wanted them, and they have not been able to get rid of them. They have contacted U.N.R.R.A. officials many times trying to get them to take over the dehydrated potatoes, and U.N.R.R.A. will not buy them.

The current market quotation on dehydrated potatoes is 38.9 cents a pound, and they contain about the same amount of food value as a pound of beans, peas, wheat flour, or wheat, which costs U.N.R.R.A., or whatever the buying agency is, from 3 to 6 cents a pound as compared to 39 or 40 cents a pound for dehydrated potatoes.

It takes about 8 or 10 pounds of raw potatoes to make one pound of dehydrated potatoes, and the cost of dehydrating, processing, and packaging is around 8 or 10 cents a pound of dehydrated potatoes, finally achieved, which is about twice as much as buying wheat or wheat flour would cost, which has exactly the same food value.

It seems to me that this amendment would not help the potato producer. He has a support price regardless of whether or not this amendment is adopted. It would not help the starving people of Europe, because they can get more food value for the money, if the money is spent buying cereals or beans or peas.

The only people it would help are those who own potato dehydrating plants, and I do not think this is the time or place to authorize the expenditure of millions of dollars merely to bail them out.

Mr. Cordon. The Senator has both effectively and fairly presented his views on this matter. I would only ask him this question: If we had had potatoes in any processed form this year which we might have used in lieu of wheat, for which we had to increase the price 30 cents a bushel, resulting in a terrific loss to our own people throughout the New England States and down the Atlantic Coast, and in my own area in Oregon, Washington, and California—does he not think that if we could have used potatoes for that purpose, there would have been in this country a

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value far in excess of the value of the potatoes, either raw or processed, plus the value of the wheat itself, if we could have foreseen and had the opportunity to use the potatoes for that purpose?

Mr. Ball. No; I do not think so, and, as I have just suggested, the Department of Agriculture informed me this morning that they still have on hand dehydrated potatoes left over from war contracts made by the Department for the Army and Navy. They have not been able to sell them to U.N.R.R.A. even during this period of famine, because U.N.R.R.A. can get so much more food value for its money by buying grains and cereals.

I think the same situation will prevail during the next year. It seems to me that paying 10 cents a pound to dehydrate potatoes, if we can get the same value in wheat or wheat flour or beans or peas for from 3 to 6 cents a pound, simply does not make sense.

I should like to add, in reference to grains and cereals, that all the predictions today are that we will have one of the best crops of wheat and corn and potatoes in our history. The food value of the grain crops per pound and per dollar is so much greater that we should not use the available relief funds in buying a more expensive food that does not give the people who are starving as much food value.

Mr. Brewster. Mr. President, I have been much interested in the statement made by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Ball]. I must confess this is the first time I have heard that the shipment even of raw potatoes abroad had not been practicable, as we shipped a great many of them last year, and apparently with great satisfaction, to the countries where they were received, particularly France and Belgium.

The government, in any event, is obliged to pay from $1.50 to $2 a bushel for the potatoes. We are then faced with the same extraordinary dilemma, as I think the Senator from Minnesota is aware, which we faced this last year, that the potatoes might have to be plowed under. The government could do nothing with them. It arranged that they be placed in wind-row storage with full knowledge that because of the surplus there would be no further use for them, and those potatoes would be absolutely plowed into the ground in the face of the fact that millions of people in the world were starving. Such action certainly to the average person can make no profound appeal.

Mr. Morse. I think the point the Senator from Maine has just made ought to receive further consideration. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Ball] pointed out that after all, the adoption of the amendment proposed by the senior Senator from Oregon would not help the potato producer. It will do so in this sense, that, after all, the support money which the government pays for these potatoes, as the Senator from Maine points out, will be wasted as to the potatoes which are plowed under unless there is authorization for converting them into a form in which they may be used for food purposes aboard; and with this authorization they could be dehydrated and could be used for food if UNRRA would use them.

The Senator from Minnesota has pointed out that U.N.R.R.A. prefers some other types of food, particularly grain.

I am aware that they prefer other types of food, but they have preferred other types of food, in the form of grain, to the detriment of large

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groups of American producers, such as dairymen and poultrymen. The Senators from the northeastern and northwestern sections of the country have pleaded for the sending abroad of substitutes to take the place of certain kinds of foods, grains at least, so that some of the grains could remain in this country to save our dairy and poultry industries. It seems to me that here, as the senior Senator from Oregon has said, is one insurance way of doing it. If there were authorization to make use of potatoes in their dehydrated form for human food, they could be sent abroad, instead of sending away so much wheat which may be needed for feed purposes here. Therefore, I think the authorization requested by the senior Senator from Oregon would be very appropriate.

Mr. Aiken. The reason we have had to concentrate on the use of grain in the famine-stricken countries has not been because the people of those countries would not use other foods, but because grain was the most concentrated form in which we could send them calories to keep them alive until shipping might be available to send them other kinds of food. Now it appears that very shortly, or at least within a few months, there will be plenty of shipping available to transport potatoes or other bulkier foods to countries that will use them, and, of course, most of the countries of Europe will use potatoes if they can get them. Inasmuch as the government is under obligation, according to the Steagall amendment, to support the price if there is a surplus causing the price to break, it seems to me that we should support the price in such a manner as to make the best possible use of the product or of the crop which is being supported.

Mr. Brewster. Suggestion has been made as to the edibility of dehydrated potatoes, but in view of the history of recent years, when our soldiers in all sections of the world have been maintained on dehydrated potatoes, I cannot believe that there can be a valid challenge of their edibility or suitability. I have eaten them in all climates and temperatures, and I have found them entirely suitable for food. I think it is time for our foreign friends to be perhaps a little less discriminating. Instead of demanding the foodstuffs so vitally needed here at home for the maintenance of our domestic economy, they should be willing to eat the very food which our soldiers have eaten throughout the war. I cannot believe that people anywhere in the world who are starving will reject the food which we have found so usable during the war.

I hope that the pending proposal will prevail.

Mr. Swift. In the potato growing section of Alabama, where a great quantity of potatoes are produced, the crop has been harvested and is gone. I should like to ask the Senator a question. If this provision had been the law 60 or 90 days ago, when hundreds of thousands of bushels of surplus potatoes, for which there was no market, went out of southern Alabama at a very nominal price to the distilleries, could those potatoes have been converted into human food for starving people?

Mr. Brewster. They could have been. That is the purpose of this amendment.

Mr. White. One can go into all sorts of refinements in arguing this question; but it seems to me that there are only two or three fundamental facts involved. The first is that Europe has heretofore been calling for, and we have been shipping,

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grain which we sadly need in America in order to meet the needs of our own people.

Second, dehydrated potatoes have been proved to be a proper and a fit food. They have been used by our American soldiers and sailors all over the world. It may be true that Europe and other parts of the world may prefer grain; but there is no reason why, when we have these potatoes, they should not be accepted as food, because if they are not, the alternative is wasted food in this country.

Mr. Hill. The fact is that many surplus potatoes, unless they are bought and used, will rot on the ground. They will go to waste, whereas they might well be used to feed the hungry people of the world.

Mr. Revercomb. As I see it, the hungry people of Europe, while they make a great appeal, do not enter into the question at all. U.N.R.R.A. is feeding the hungry people of Europe.

Mr. Brewster. What is it feeding them with? With grain which we vitally need in this country. That is the issue.

Mr. Revercomb. Yes; and it will continue to feed them with grain, because it has the right of selection.

Mr. Brewster. It will not continue to feed them with grain if the Senate will exercise the authority which it possesses next January when the question then arises. During the past year we have faced that issue. We do not need to face it further if we will enact the proper law.

Mr. Revercomb. I do not think the Senator is going to say "Feed them potatoes." Is not the idea to sustain the price of potatoes?

Mr. Brewster. Not at all. This issue does not affect the potato situation in that respect one iota. The government is obligated for the next two years to maintain the price of potatoes, and I assume that the government will fulfill its obligation. The only question is whether, having bought 10,000,000 bushels of potatoes, it will dump them on the ground, or whether we shall enact this provision permitting the potatoes to be converted into food values to feed the starving people of the world, in substitution for the vitally needed grain supplies of this country. That is the only issue.

Mr. Revercomb. Let me put this question: Do I correctly understand the Senator to take the position that the same amount of potatoes will be bought by the Commodity Credit Corporation whether this provision is enacted into law or not.

Mr. Brewster. Absolutely. That is the law.

Mr. Revercomb. And the Senator states his position to be that, once having bought the potatoes, the Commodity Credit Corporation should find an outlet for them.

Mr. Brewster. My soul revolts at the proposals presented to us last winter by the Department of Agriculture, when it was alleged that it was necessary to leave potatoes in windrows and permit them to be destroyed. With millions of people in the world starving, I do not believe that any real American would like to see that situation occur.

Mr. Ball. Are there not also several other outlets for surplus potatoes, particularly in connection with the manufacture of industrial alcohol? In this country today, there is a shortage of industrial alcohol. The use of grain, sugar and molasses has been restricted. The use of potatoes in the manufacture of industrial alcohol would not involve the cost of 10 cents a pound for dehydrating.

Mr. Brewster. I am sure that the Senator does not intend to prefer industrial alcohol to starving people. Our object is to use the potatoes to

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the greatest extent possible for starving people, making it possible to use some of our grain for our starving chickens.

Mr. Ball. Mr. President, I think we shall have plenty of grain to go around, and I think industrial alcohol is just as essential as dehydrated potatoes and is likely to be used a great deal more.

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, I believe that potatoes for the manufacture of industrial alcohol are worth approximately 5 cents a bushel. If they have to be shipped any great distance, that price will not pay the cost of handling them.

Mr. Taylor. Mr. President, let me say that my interest in this matter is almost wholly philanthropic, not only because I wish to see this food item preserved for the starving people of Europe, but also because Idaho is not seriously affected in this matter, because Idaho potatoes are so good that all of them will be sold. Nevertheless, I do not wish to see potatoes which are grown anywhere else—I shall not mention any particular areas or localities—go to waste. I want them to be saved. The question is whether we shall process these potatoes so that, as has been pointed out, they can be preserved for perhaps 14 years, for the lean years, if necessary, and in that way we can postpone using them, and eventually take the pressure off our grain supplies and help keep some of our people from losing millions of dollars. Certainly if we could have used such potatoes this year to feed livestock instead of using grain for that purpose, the cost of processing the potatoes would have been saved many times over to the United States. Of course, the major cost this year came to those who had to liquidate their flocks. But all of us are Americans; and if we help others save their flocks this year, possibly at another time they will help us to save something which otherwise we would lose.

I have personally talked to Mr. LaGuardia, who said he would be glad to have the potatoes, if available. But, as the Senator from Minnesota has quite correctly pointed out, the cost of dehydrating potatoes, as compared to the cost of grain, is prohibitive insofar as their use by U.N.R.R.A. is concerned. But Mr. LaGuardia said that if the potatoes were available, he certainly could dispose of them to the hungry people of Europe.

Mr. Young. In a meeting with the Secretary of Agriculture a few days ago, he expressed himself as being in favor of this item.

Mr. Ball. Mr. President, has the Senator from North Dakota anything in writing from the Secretary of Agriculture on the point he has just made? The people to whom I have talked in the Department of Agriculture, who are the experts on dehydrated potatoes, certainly did not seem to be friendly to this proposition.

Mr. Taylor. Mr. President, I may say we had a conversation with Mr. Dodd, at the Department of Agriculture, and with a number of other potato experts. They said if we could get this authorization to help them get all of these surplus potatoes "out of their hair," they certainly would be in favor of it, and would appreciate it very much.

Mr. Brewster. Mr. President, I ask for a vote on the motion.

Mr. McKellar. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

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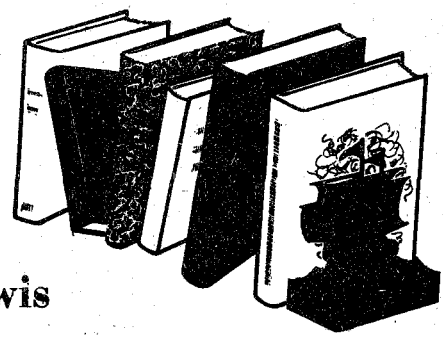
BOOKS
In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

CAPITALISM MUST BE REFORMED

MIDWAY between the proponents of government control in business and radical economic ambition, there is a suggested solution in *By Vote of the People,* by Willis J. Ballinger, (Scribner's $3.00). Both as an economist and an adviser to the Federal Trade Commissioner, the author has apparently kept a free mind on the subject of capitalism despite Washington pressure and group propaganda. His book is a clearly stated study of economics for the average man. It is refreshing to have an author condone — even commend — the "acquisitive spirit;" he only objects to it when it gets out of hand. He also accepts inequalities of wealth, provided they do not shut off individual effort.

The point of Ballinger's book is simply that in nearly every instance, the world's democracies which have vanished have done so through voluntary acceptance by the electorate — the vote of the people. For his purposes, he discusses first the general characteristics of democracies and other forms of government, and the economies which go with them. Economies are either capitalistic or some form of authoritarian substitute, and democracy has flourished only under free enterprise.

To those who recommend a planned economy, his answer is brief: "Only in a capitalist system can political opposition be substantially protected from economic retaliation by government."

It is easy to quote examples of the usual procedure of would-be dictators in the world's history, and the simplest of them all has been government spending. Here the "friend of the people" usually spends the public monies until he has the masses behind him; then dictatorship is natural. By briefly reviewing the decline and fall economically and politically of Athens, Sparta, Rome and Venice, the author illustrates this common method of stifling both democracy and capitalism. Economic ebb tides brought on these periods, and during them wealth became more concentrated in the hands of the few. This concentration is one of the chief obstacles to the proper functioning of capitalism,

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and it is found in every case where an authoritarian regime held the reins. The strange part of it is that the masses accepted these changes willingly in most instances.

Applying these thoughts to modern capitalism, Ballinger divides it into two phases. In the first, competition emerges to regulate and encourage industry. In the second, when wealth has begun to be concentrated, competition is strangled and monopoly follows. In this period, production is stifled, unemployment ensues and dictatorship threatens free government. In Germany and Italy, free government exploded in dictatorship; France became ripe for it; England drifts toward it; in America, the trend is unmistakable.

Ballinger's concern is for our country. He dispels the illusion that colonial America, or even the early republic, was democratic economically. The plan was to keep control in the hands of the wealthy. It was only as America advanced westward, away from the controlled East, that wealth became divided, power followed, and the pioneers who ordered their own lives became a factor.

Since 1929 private business has broken down, and any resurgence of improved conditions can be traced to government spending. That was the secret of the New Deal's invincibility. "The Pied Piper from Hyde Park was piping an old and irresistible tune." Ballinger accuses the New Deal's leader of spending billions "for the people" to create bureaucratic jobs in public works and dole. World War II saved the day temporarily, and the backlog of high wages and unsatisfied demand will stave off the day of reckoning. When that money is gone and supply catches up with demand, only government spending will fill the gap.

That is the point when the struggle to save democracy in America will enter its final phase. The outlook is discouraging; Ballinger sees no leadership in either party adequate to the problem. Only the reform of capitalism will save our economy and our liberty. Otherwise government spending, the key to authoritarian economy, will follow. Please note that it is not a question of politics: both parties are condemned.

It is also to be noted that just as profits and interest may become exploitative to the detriment of capitalistic production, so labor can cause suppression of production by exorbitant demands.

"Today capitalism is in the grip of five powerful monopolies—industry, agriculture, transportation, investment and labor." Ballinger proposes dissolution of the giants, fewer inter-state barriers, divorce of finance and business, revision of patent laws, and a change in labor laws to permit competition and enable it, to function. For this purpose, he recommends a commission of experts sympathetic to the idea.

Some of his opinions may be challenged. He appears to discount the value of foreign trade, and in fact favors a tariff wall. The need for reform and the restoration of competition at the management level in the five monopolies listed, and

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also at the level of labor, will be contested principally by the heads of those monopolies. His program is ambitious, and whether or not it is acceptable is of less moment than the fact that he has had the courage to write plainly on a topic that forebodes danger to the country.

Somewhat in the same vein, so far as causes go, is Hilaire Belloc's *The Servile State* (Holt, $2.50). Published in England in 1912, this first American edition witnesses the fact that it is possible to foretell events, provided one has the vision with which to do it. Belloc believes you have to have the Institution of Property or else you have the Institution of Slavery. He traces the evolution of society from slavery to serfdom—in which men were much like share-croppers,—and then to a middle ground, which he calls the Distributive State. In this, the masses owned land, subject to certain percentages of production given the nobles, and the trades had their guilds for cooperation and protection.

The change from this happy period to Capitalism, Belloc ascribes to something else: the loss of a free mind. Before the Industrial Revolution, England had already become capitalistic, through the seizure of church lands, ostensibly for the Crown, but actually for the advantage of the predatory nobles and others of influence. That meant that the proletariat owned but a fraction of the wealth, while the few controlled the greater part of it. That was capitalism. The machine age only enhanced the wealth of the few. Capitalism wielded the power and still does. This is his warning, more foreboding now than 20 years ago: "We all feel . . . that the Capitalist society thus gradually developed . . . has reached its term. . . . It is equally self-evident that some solution must be found for the intolerable and increasing instability with which it has poisoned our lives."

There are three alternatives to a tottering Capitalism: Slavery, Socialism and Property (meaning the means of production). Slavery being repugnant to men, the choice is between Collectivism — the negation of property — and the wider distribution of property. The first is Socialism, the latter the Proprietary or Distributive State. Belloc's contention is that to avoid redistribution, Capitalism breeds a Collectivist theory which in actuality becomes the Servile State. Here, too, is a remark that strikes home. Considering the aims of Socialist minded people, he says: "Already the greater part of such reformers who, a generation ago, would have called themselves 'Socialists' are now less concerned with any scheme for socialising Capital and Land than with innumerable schemes . . . for regulating, 'running,' and drilling the proletariat."

The greatest trend away from freedom appears to be the acceptance by the proletariat of the idea of wage-earning, rather than ownership. Belloc feels that the masses no longer ask for freedom, but only for security. That mental attitude inclines toward the Servile State.

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It is encouraged, too, by labor and security laws in that these create two divisions, employer and employed — capital and worker. This is sought by the worker, who loses sight of the ideal of freedom. That makes the proletariat not nominally but actually servile. That is where we (to include America) are heading; not toward freedom, but to a capitalist-controlled security. There seems to be a tacit acceptance of this change by the masses; it is another way of demonstrating that freedom is voluntarily traded for some form of security.

BRIEFER COMMENT

BIOGRAPHY

Friderike Zweig furnishes a restrained and sympathetic biography of her husband in *Stefan Zweig,* (Crowell, $3.00). Made up of the little things that reflect the late author's philosophy and ambitions, it shows devotion to the man and the writer, and understanding of the urgency that drove him. Other well known literary and artistic figures of the day, friends of the Zweigs, appear in the book. Reflections on the evil times in Germany and Austria are balanced by a faith in the better days of the people. That the Zweigs were divorced and Stefan Zweig married to his last secretary is related delicately and without malice; in fact, the continued friendly relations of the three seem fantastic. The book is more than a biography of a man; it is a picture of the larger scene in which he lived, with the tempestuous shiftings of human life and effort.

FICTION

The Spear In the Sand, by Raoul C. Faure, (Harper's, $2.50), can be recommended as strong, well written fiction, but only for those with strong minds and powerful resistance to madness. It is the story of the lone survivor of a scientific expedition to the South Pacific, and his gradual but sure mental collapse. It is no Robinson Crusoe tale; there are no other humans in it, once the expedition founders. The descriptions are vivid, and the interest totally absorbing, but the effect is macabre.

A historical background is the setting for *Pull Down to New Orleans,* by Zachary Ball, (Crown, $2.50). It is a novel of adventure on the Mississippi in 1802; Indians, the Spanish, a couple of murders and love interest. It is entertaining, although its adherence to the rivermen's language of the period makes it rough reading at times.

Once in a while a mystery hits the spot. Rex Stout, creator of Nero Wolfe, the supersize super-detective, has an up-to-date murder story in *The Silent Speaker,* (Viking, $2.50). The whimsicality of the telling is pleasant as the disclaimer illustrates: ""The characters in this book are imaginary, and resemblances to them, if any, borne by actual persons or corpses are accidental and in some cases deplorable." That the chief victim is the head of the "Bureau of Price Regulation"

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does not detract from the reader's enthusiasm.

The trouble with Mexico over what was to become the State of California, wilderness fighting with the help of Kit Carson, and a touch of politics in 1846, form the basis for *Eagles Fly West,* by Ed Ainsworth (Macmillan, $3.00). There is plenty of adventure, shooting and a little of love, but the telling is somewhat crude and adolescent.

HUMOR

So This Is Peace is Bob Hope's new contribution to the mirth of a nation, (Simon & Schuster, paper, $1.00; cloth, $2.50). In it, he mixes gags with the report of his travels as a trouper doing shows for servicemen during the war. It is not only for those who served but also, for those who waited, with text and pictures to bring smiles, and sometimes a touch of thoughtfulness, on war generally. It's good fun, with glimpses of the boys' life behind the front.

GENERAL INTEREST

The Monastery, by F. Majdalany, (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.00), is one of the few brief gems in the collection of war literature. It is the day by day story of the battle for Monte Cassino. Major Majdallany, of the British Army, tells in artless but extremely sharp style not only the details of the military exploit, but the reactions of the men to the business of living under almost impossible situations. There is a tinge of sadness to it, and a touch of humor too. It has the earmarks of epic quality.

Columnist Paul Mallon has collected some of his best work in *Practical Idealism,* (Bruce Humphries, $2.00). Taken principally from his 1943 and 1944 writings, the whole work forms a clear-sighted appraisal of world events and trends, with an appeal for Christian ideals. Some of his statements prove to have been prophetic; witness his remarks on Russia's Communism and the then powerful Nazi party. Some of his evaluations of government policies are sound, economic facts.

The second annual of *Best Film Plays, 1945,* again edited by John Gassner and Dudley Nichols, (Crown, $3.00), makes its appearance with the editors' selection of the 10 best screen plays of late 1944. To the excellent presentation, Gassner adds his able appraisals of the plays and the reason for their selection. Nichols, under the chapter title of "The Machine From the God," makes some appropriate comments on the inside of the picture business and its problems.

Certainly not all the people born in Brooklyn stay there until they die. For those who emigrated to other parts of the United States and still feel a nostalgic urge, here is a pleasant reminder. *Brooklyn, U. S. A.,* by John Richmond and Abril Lamarque, (Creative Age, $3.00), is made up of pictures and text, showing Brooklyn's great and near great and scenes of diverse interest. It is a tribute to the borough and yet contains some sly digs at it.

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COUNTRY COMMENT

NINE GREAT ONES

Does the world smell bad to you? Is there an unpleasant odor from the present peace? From China, say, or Germany, or the United States?

If so, I invite you by way of antidote to consider the good smells of the earth and especially nine great ones. I invite you to smell them, or if they are not immediately available, to recall them, to conjure them up. Hold them in your mind against a time of need.

By "great" I mean basic, abundant and free-flowing. We go to the rose, but the great scents of the earth come to us. They are seldom sweet. God defend us from a sea that smelt of lilacs or gardenias!

Let the sea be first on our list, with its tonic, universal smell of salt. And let the smell of the sea bring with it the sights and sounds of the sea.

Let the deep forest be second on the list, with its cool moist exhalation of leaf mould, where decay and growth are beautifully blended.

From the general forest scent, we might isolate the particular scent of evergreens hot in the sun—white pines and fir balsams, or whatever your aromatic evergreens are. Don't try to make a little scent out of this great one. Don't go up to it with inquisitive nose; don't break a branch. But let sun and slowly-moving air bring to you what only they together can bring.

Number four on my list is the pungence of a dry dusty land under the first down-rush of raindrops.

Number five is the scent of hay with plenty of clover and sweetgrass in it. First the new-mown hay lying in the sun. Second the evening and early-morning scent wherever hay has been left for the dew.

Summer has many scents. Autumn has one dominant one: that of fallen leaves lying in crisp billows over the forest floor. A kind of slow incense with the sun for fire, to blend with the sharper incense of bonfires along village streets at dusk.

Is the smell of clean cold air in winter a scent or the absence of one? Whichever you will, it is a perfect foil for that almost sweet smell of wood-smoke from farmhouse chimneys.

For eight I have the warm excitement of fresh-ploughed land in spring —the farmer and his plough and team of horses still in the field.

With nine I come at last to sweetness. I make a bouquet of all widely-fragrant flowers—appleblossoms, honey locusts, roadside honeysuckle, lindens full of bees and acres of clover.

The world man makes can smell rather bad. But the earth he lives on persists in smelling good.

ROBERT FRANCIS.

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

ALTHOUGH Americans have enjoyed some superb revivals and many acceptable ones, they still believe that the professional stage revives classics or near-classics only *in extremis,* in seasons of the locust when the crop of good new plays is meager. This is because repertory theatres in America have not made revivals a matter of course. The resuscitation of old plays—their selection and interpretation—is actually as much of a test of theatrical vitality as anything else. Thus far the record is uninspiring. *The Front Page* and *Lady Windermere's Fan* were chosen well and were competently staged, but they were hardly calculated to make the pulse beat faster. *The Duchess of Malfi* was less well chosen and poorly revived. Only José Ferrer's *Cyrano de Bergerac* was completely successful. Even if it lacked some buoyancy, the production was forceful and spirited. Rostand's bravura and pathos were admirably captured, and his poetry so spiced with wit and grace, is not neglected by Ferrer's Cyrano and Frances Reid's Roxane.

Oscar Wilde mixed his styles in *Lady Windermere's Fan* and produced an indifferent comedy. He started with the intention of taking righteousness down a peg or two, which is an excellent provocation for comedy. But when it came to plotting the play, he fell into the pit of sardoodledom and resorted to contrivance and sentimentality.

The present revival has been extravagantly praised and is successful at the box-office. This is due to the excellence of Cecil Beaton's rococo settings, the lively staging and the well-costumed acting that ranges from fair to very good. Estelle Winwood is delightful as ever as an elderly comedienne in the rôle of the Duchess of Berwick, who is in any case the only realized character in all of Wilde's wax-works. Cornelia Otis Skinner as Lady Windermere's mother is the genuine article: woman-of-the-world of bosomy Victorian variety, and blackmailing middle-aged beauty with a need for respectability which Lord Windermere's money can facilitate. When the corn rises high and mama becomes pathetic and heroic, Miss Skinner acts with welcome restraint. Penelope Ward plays the priggish daughter with style. If she seems

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colorless to me, hers is, after all, a colorless part. If she is not particularly arresting to this pair of critical eyes, she seems to have appealed to virtually everybody else. The men give authentic performances. Henry Daniell makes a better than average Lord Windermere, giving the rôle the right combination of protective manliness, intelligence and integrity. No doubt, people of his type were not the most unbearable Victorian gentlemen. If Mr. Daniell seems a trifle too chilly and a trifle too stiff, the rôle suits him and the period justifies him. Of course, if one looks sharply, one is bound to find that for all its style, the production hasn't enough style. The proper way to serve Wilde's goulash is to do it up brown. The present production stylizes everything except the style of the play. This is most easily apparent in the fact that the asides are fuzzily projected or not projected at all, as well as in the failure to fuse Wilde's mixture of high comedy and lachrymose, pathetic drama by treating the play as a cartoon. Wilde himself couldn't have taken *Lady Windermere's Fan* with real seriousness. Why should we, 54 years later?

We could have expected the Paul Czinner-Elizabeth Bergner production of John Webster's early seventeenth century tragedy, *The Duchess of Malfi,* to be, in a sense, the acid test of the revival season. The test of a revival theatre is essentially how well the stage manages to bring to life a moribund classic; how well it deals with refractory material; not how well it revives somthing that has not yet been interred within the covers of an anthology like *The Front Page.*

Shakespeare at his best is comparatively easy to revive because the audience and the critics are familiar with his over-all content and meaning, situations and lines. Also the audience and the critics are awed by the great name; and the director, as well as the cast, has a tradition of production and acting to either follow or modify. In short, there is a frame of reference, as well as a degree of convenient familiarity, for everyone. Not so with John Webster, a little known figure from the misty regions that only scholars inhabit. He is one of the so-called "minor Elizabethans" whose characteristic faults of melodra-madness and slipshod dramaturgy are used to set off the jewel of Shakespeare's art, though the Lord and all honest Shakespearians know that Shakespeare himself was not without sin. But John Webster stands high among the Elizabethans. Men who have education and taste, which doesn't include all critics, have had a healthy respect for Webster's poetic power and his nightmare vision — both tragic and sardonic — of the depths of human bedevilment and evil. All this, plus the fact that John Gielgud had revived the play in London, plus the knowledge that W. H. Auden had prepared a stage version and that the truly talented Miss Elizabeth Bergner was to play the Duchess, aroused expectations.

Some of us at least know that reviving *The Duchess of Malfi* is "no cinch" under any circumstances, and that to put Webster over on Broadway would be more difficult

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than in London. Miss Bergner and Mr. Czinner must have known that, too. Therefore, we girded our loins for the test.

Of such a revival it must be expected that where the ancient author is at fault the production will cover up his defects and highlight his virtues. The characters will, of course, be given their full dimension, since no play written in an older convention is worth reviving unless there is life in it, and the life in a play lies largely, if not wholly, in the characterization. The production will, moreover, strive to make the characters comprehensible and recognizable to us in spite of the ravages of time. Finally, the meaning of the play, the justification for the horror, acceptable to an older theatre convention, will blossom from the action.

It is my unpleasant duty to report that *The Duchess of Malfi* production made the old play look like a mildewed heirloom. It fumbled on every count — in adaptation, in staging and in acting. If some virtues could be found in each case, these were not abundant enough to make the play live again. And in this case, a miss is as good as a mile. If a play like *The Duchess of Malfi* is only half alive on the Broadway stage, it is, in effect, wholly dead for the general public. This may be unfair, but there is no fairness for a play when one is bored, confused or overcome with a sense of futility with regard to what one sees on the stage. And this is particularly regrettable because henceforth *The Duchess of Malfi* will be set down as rubbish by people, including critics, who would know better than that if they took the trouble to read the play with some application and intelligence.

Concerning the adaptation, this hasty report can only say that while the cutting and transpositions were often made for sound reasons, the play lost much of its suspense, bite, intensity and build. For instance, the villain, Bosola, lost strong evidence of repentance and reformation. In the original, he decides to save Antonio, the husband, after having killed the Duchess on orders from her brothers, the Duke and the Cardinal. That he should nevertheless kill Antonio accidentally, thinking that the latter is an assassin hired by them to do away with himself, adds to the fatefulness and irony of the tragedy. That, too, is lost in the adaptation. Gone, too, is the final scene in which the son of Antonio and the Duchess is saved and will inherit the duchy. Gone, in other words, is the restoration of right reason and good will, the healing elements in tragedy. Without this, the play remains on the melodramatic level established so excessively in several scenes by Webster's and the other Elizabethans' penchant for violence. Instead we are fobbed off with a trite epilogue, invented or pieced together by Mr. Auden in the style of a morality play or sermon. All this, moreover, affects the characterization, and consequently the acting. If the acting was so often inadequate, the cue for it was given by the adaptation.

Although Miss Bergner reached some noble heights of tragedy in

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the last act, when she receives news of her husband's death, and later when she is strangled, she started off in the wrong key. She was arch enough at the beginning to suggest that she was still playing the Venetian *gamine* in *Escape Me Never*. She started the play as though she were just about to embark upon a Noel Coward comedy or *The Merry Widow*. Worse still, she suggested the lusty widow her brothers believed her to be, rather than the deeply emotional and noble heroine of a tragedy. The scene in which she proposes to her steward, Antonio, was better played, but it carried over the coyness of the first scene. It somehow failed to convey the depth of her love for the man and her sensitive reward for his feelings as a man wooed by a woman who was his social superior. There was more toying with him than true warmth. In the next scene, in which she is with child and is tempted with fruit by the villain who tries to discover her secret, Miss Bergner conveyed the silly woman, farcing up her part, instead of suggesting the woman who is carrying a child under the benign shadow of a great love and under the cloud of a great fear. Until the final act, moreover, Miss Bergner tended to pitch her voice too high (at the end of lines, I believe), giving an *ingenue* effect that is wholly wrong for the part. Even in the last act she fell short of tragic stature, and lacked sufficient pathos as a whole, though she created some very fine moments indeed. It is difficult to resist thinking of what Katherine Cornell would have done with the part, and this is regrettable when one considers how accomplished an actress Miss Bergner is.

All this, finally, could only rock the very foundations of the main structure of the tragedy — namely, the story of a noble woman who dared to marry her steward in the face of convention and of her dreadful brothers' wrath. To this theme, our generation shoull have been able to respond with decided democratic sympathy. Miss Bergner made it impossible for us to do so. She succeeded only in the final act — and even there, as a result of previous errors, she could evoke only sympathy as a suddenly brave victim of irrational persecution. Ultimately, therefore, the tragedy lost the one strong justification without which Webster's play could only strike us in 1946 as an unjustifiable melodrama.

Unfortunate, too, is Canada Lee's interpretation of the villain, Bosola. The fault lies at least partly with the adaptation which cuts the dimensions of the part. The part has also been directed poorly. It is difficult, therefore, to tell to what extent Canada Lee himself is at fault. Actually his performance is vastly to his credit. It shows how greatly he has progressed as an actor, how well he has acquired fluency, flexibility and ease. He is by now an accomplished actor. But he is not the Bosola that Webster created. His expression is so benign that I expected him to rush to the aid of the Duchess at any time. There was virtually no villainy in his heart or his features, regardless of what foul deeds were his. Too often he

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suggested a perfunctory gangster rather than the true character. The complexity of this character and the source of his villainy were only faintly realized.

We never got to know the Bosola who has turned cynic because he was a needy scholar and an unrewarded soldier who saw that the entire world fattened on villainy — so why shouldn't he; who cared for no life because he no longer cared for life itself. Nor, owing to cuts in the script, were his efforts to make amends by saving the husband of the Duchess and the ironic failure of these amends(in itself, a confirmation of his earlier cynical view of the universe) sufficiently realized. Failure in the case of Bosola is a most serious matter because some of the deepest meaning lies in his part. It illustrates the important fact that the beginning of evil often consists in disillusionment and negation. The cynics, those who have lost belief in the ultimate justice of the world and the value of life, are the most efficient agents of evil governments or evil superiors. The history of fascism and Nazism is a case in point. Canada Lee's Bosola required an understanding of the play that nobody associated with the production seems to have possessed or at least made effective.

Space does not allow further detailed animadversions. Let me note merely that Whitfield Conner's Antonio was an appealing characterization, well executed and well spoken by the actor. But Mr. Connor failed to convey the necessary strength of a character, who is underwritten by Webster, but even so is endowed by him with superior skill in sport and with courage enough, to enter the lion's den of the Cardinal's home in a scene that was dropped by the adapter. Mr. Connor's Antonio is too poor and weak a creature to be the cause of a high tragedy.

The Duke is played with fire but with too much smoke by Donald Eccles; there is too much rant and posturing in an already sufficiently overwrought character. John Carradine's Cardinal is the best acting in the play, but he lacks the force and bite for the villainy of which he is one of the prime examples. Here again the adaptation is much at fault, since it has dropped his poisoning of his mistress and some barbed lines; the cutting has done Mr. Carradine an injustice. His excellent diction and presence are a compensation to be appreciated.

This bill of grievances must, moreover, close with a general disappointment in the direction which was too scattered, as well as insuffiently penetrative in guiding the actors. It failed to consider sufficiently the development and meaning of the play. It also did little to orient a modern audience. It was neither quite theatre-wise for Broadway nor quite poetic and passionate enough for Webster. No doubt, it is also the direction that is ultimately responsible for the lack of atmosphere required by the play, and for the inadequacy of the music. All told, the direction was far too uninspired. And Webster without inspiration can look, and did look, too much like a hack melodramatist.

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Boy Up Late

This small boy collared wide in white,
Up so late this starry night,
Sings so hard to keep awake
All the buttons on him quake.

He sings so high with tilted nose
He had better mind his clothes
Or first thing he knows he will crack
And be in Christmas with bare back!

Warmed with carols of the choir,
His scores of freckles catch on fire
And dim the candles on the sticks,
His blue eyes burn like windblown wicks.

As his first waking midnight nears,
He grows all lips and standing ears,
Ceases now to be a boy,
Becomes a disembodied joy.

His mother will have much to do
To get this slender creature to
The sheets tonight, all sparks and horn,
She will have to bed a unicorn!

—ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

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The International Scene

While world diplomats and international wizards are busying themselves with the intricate problems of the peace settlement, political life in the European countries is beginning to revive. The great fear that Communism would sweep through the war-weary countries unless the western democracies acted to the contrary, has not been realized. Although in examining local election, it is still important to note who controls the government and whether the country is East-supported or West-supported, there is encouraging evidence of indigenous political activity along moderate lines.

Foreign interest in the recent elections in France, Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania and the Polish election scheduled for January 19 is of a two-fold nature. First of all, the world is interested to see the actual strength of the pro-Communist and anti-Communist leftist groups. Secondly, the western democracies are anxious that the elections be "free and unfettered" and a true indication of the will of the people.

FRANCE

In France, one of the few European countries unmolested by Big Three interference, the return to constitutional government has been marked by a series of elections. On October 25, 1945, delegates had been chosen to draft a constitution for the Fourth Republic; the constitution was subsequently rejected. A new Constituent Assembly was elected on June 2, 1946, and its work was approved in a referendum on October 13. In the latest election, November 10, deputies were selected for the first National Assembly of the Fourth Republic.

Throughout these elections, two parties vied for power. A new party, the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (M.R.P.), led by Premier-President Georges Bidault and inspired by Christian socialist principles, gained early popularity. In the first election it won 24.9 per cent of the vote; in the second, 28.1 per cent; and in the last election, 26 per cent (Metropolitan France only). The Communists, led by Maurice Thorez, sought a victory which might have paved the way for a Communist triumph all over western Europe. In all three elections, the Communist count ran very close to the M.R.P.; 26, 26.2 and 27.8 (Metropolitan France only) per cent. Between these two major parties lay the Socialists, the Radical Socialists and the rightist groups, which are important in establishing a majority.

On November 24, the French people voted, by an indirect, complicated procedure, for the second legislative body, the Council of the Republic. Early in January a joint session of the Assembly and the Council will elect a President of France. The President, in turn, will name a Premier

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and the Premier, a Cabinet; both actions will be subject to the approval of the Assembly.

GERMANY

Significant also were the municipal elections in Berlin, the capital of a country which is more under the thumb of foreign control than any other country in the world. The results of the voting in the jointly occupied city were encouraging to the West. Besides indicating approval of Secretary Byrnes' statements at Stuttgart, (see "Highlighting the News" in the November *FORUM*), the election dispelled, somewhat, the fear that the Germans would be persuaded to "go Communist." The Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity party polled only 20 per cent of the 1,941,981 votes cast while the Social Democrats won 49 per cent. With 22 per cent and 9 per cent of the votes respectively, the Rightist parties, the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democrats were also not out of the running. Altogether in the long series of local elections held since the beginning of 1946, the parties of the Center and the Right have accounted for 52 per cent of the votes while the remainder has been divided between the Social Democrats and the pro-Communists.

BULGARIA

The political affairs in Bulgaria reflect more the conflict between East and West than do those of Germany, Bulgaria lying within the Red Orbit.

Notwithstanding British and American doubts that a free election was possible, the Bulgarians went to the polls on October 27 for a second time within a year. They chose a new General Assembly and, for the second time, one dominated by the Fatherland Front.

In the previous election, November 19, 1945, the Fatherland Front, which consists of Communists, dissident Socialists and Agrarians and the Zveno party (backed by army officers and intellectuals), won a nine-to-one victory. At that time, however, no other parties were allowed to propose candidates. (Protest votes were registered by invalidating the ballots or by voting against the single official candidate.) Consequently, Great Britain and the United States refused to accept the result of the election as fair. Their objections were based on the Yalta agreement (February, 1945), which pledged free and unfettered elections, and the Moscow Declaration (December, 1945), which paved the way for the recognition of the Bulgarian government provided that two members of the opposition were added. The opposition was not added. Premier Georgiev insisted that the opposition deliberately created conditions which made its participation impossible. Before the October, '46, election when the westerm powers began once more to doubt the "free" and "unfettered" conduct of the elections, Premier Georgiev, backed by the Soviet Union, assured them that every-

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thing possible had been done to insure a free ballot. For the first time since the war, opposition candidates were on the slate. They managed to win 101 seats of the 485 seats in the General Assembly or 28 per cent of the vote. The Communists won 277 seats and the lesser parties of the Fatherland Front, the rest. Bulgarian ties with Moscow were thus reaffirmed, but not without minor discordant notes.

RUMANIA

In Rumania, as in Bulgaria, the elections for the General Assembly caused similar concern in international circles. Here, too, the Americans and the British have had reason to doubt the freedom of the election. Only a few days before the people went to the polls, the United States representative in Bucharest, Burton Y. Berry, made public the last of a series of notes between Rumania and the United States. The United States Government, urging an untrammled election, insisted "That all parties represented in the elections should participate on equal terms." The occasion of the note was a complaint from the leaders of the parties opposing Petru Groza's government (the National Liberal, National Peasant and Independent Socialist parties) were not being allowed to campaign freely. These assertations were, of course, contradicted by the regime in power.

The voting took place on November 19. During the day, Government supporters pointed out the historic fact that no Rumanian government had ever lost an election. (The present government bloc consists of the Communists, Social Democrats, Ploughman's Front — Premier Groza's party—National Popular party and dissident Peasants and Liberals.) Although the Minister of the Interior claimed that 90 per cent of the registered voters had participated in the election, 5000 angry Rumanians gathered outside of the American mission office in Bucharest to complain that they had not been allowed to vote. Results of the voting, however, indicated that the Groza regime is to remain in power and that it will continue to favor more cordial relations with the soviet Union and to work for the establishment of a communistic society.

PEACE AT THE WALDORF

The Council of Foreign Ministers found their quarters in the Tower of the Waldrof-Astoria in New York a pleasant background for unpleasant talks. The foreign ministers unanimously enjoyed the opera and the dinners given in their honor. But there unanimity stopped. Inside the conference rooms, the familiar thorny problems still remained to be solved; the cleavages which prevented settlement in Paris had not disappeared on the trip over.

The immediate task was, of course, the final drafts of the peace treaties with Finland, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary in the light of the recommendations made at Paris. The problems of Trieste, the Danube, and ultimately, the greater problem of Germany prevented the completion of these treaties.

Trieste disagreement centered around the kind of government to be

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hosen for the Free Territory of the city at the head of the Adriatic. Great Britain and the United States wanted the governor of the area to be responsible to the Security Council. The Soviet Union thought the governor should be responsible to the local legislature of the Free Territory. When M. Couve de Murville (sitting in for the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault) introduced a compromise proposal, hope for an early settlement rose. But by the middle of November, it seemed likely that the question would be turned over to direct negotiation between Yugoslavia and Italy, a measure favored particularly by the British and the Russians.

Werner in *The Philadelphia Record*
"TOUGH PLACE TO BUILD A NEST"

The dispute over the economic future of Danubia also threatened the outcome of the discussions. Great Britain and the United States wanted a guarantee that all nations will receive equal trading rights on the Danube written into the treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. The Soviet Union felt that such a guarantee did not lie within the scope of the peace treaties and that such matters should be left up to the riparian states. (For a debate on this issue, see the Forum, PP. 528-539.) As a conciliary measure, the United States released the 600 riverboats, owned by Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, over which there has been considerable controversy. The Russians, as yet, have made no concessions.

The Foreign ministers were scheduled to begin the ever-present problem of a peace treaty on preliminary discussions with Germany, during their November meeting, but the actual treaty still remains a th ng of the distant future. According to their agreement at Potsdam in the summer of 1945, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union are committed to the establishment of a central political and economic administration for Germany. Just how it is to be done is the problem. Will Germany be oriented toward the West or toward the East? That question worries each one of the Big Four.

PEACE ON THE MEADOWS

The second part of the first session of the United Nations General Assembly opened on October 23 in the renovated New York City Building on Flushing Meadows. The fact that the building had only recently been a skating rink was well-concealed by buff carpets, blue drapery and the flags of the 51 member nations. After an introduction by Paul Henri Spaak,

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the President of the Assembly, President Truman welcomed the delegates and touched on the basic problems confronting the meeting. In a sudden burst of enthusiasm, V. M. Molotov afterwards, rushed up to the President and congratulated him on the speech.

In a series of plenary sessions, 39 nations presented their views, and substantially agreed that the United Nations must be made an effective organization. The debates were highlighted by a proposal of Mr. Molotov for a general restriction of armaments and a ban on the atomic bomb and an endorsement of his disarmament suggestion by Warren R. Austin of the United States. On November 1, the specific items on the agenda were turned over to the six standing committees: Political and Security; Economic and Financial; Social, Humanitarian and Cultural; Trusteeship, Administrative and Budgetary; and Legal. Some of the Problems being tackled are:

a. *Trusteeship.* What shall be the scope of the United Nations' authority over the world's "dependent areas?" Should all mandates come under the direct control of the U. N.? Meanwhile the United States has asked for an exclusive trusteeship over the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific and the Union of South Africa has asked for approval of the annexation of the former German South-West Africa.

b. *Veto.* Should the right of the Big Five powers to veto action by the Security Council be curbed? The parties in question, of course, object, but the United States has gone as far as to say that The Big Five should agree among themselves to limit the use of veto.

c. *Spain.* What action, if any, should be taken against the Franco government? d. *Troops.* Should the great powers be required to report on the number of their troops stationed in non-enemy and former enemy countries? e. *Membership.* In light of the fact that only three new members out of 11 applicants were admitted (Iceland, Afghanistan and Sweden), should the requirement for admission be changed? f. *Site.* Where should the permanent headquarters of the United Nations be located? g. *Budget.* How much should each member contribute? If the United States is assessed for 50 per cent of the expenses, the Americans have cause to take up their old cry, "taxation without representation."

The Domestic Scene

The rascals were out, the rascals were in. After 13 years of almost undisputed Democratic rule, the Republicans had to show the country that they could do better. In the second week of November, President Truman jumped the gun by returning the nation to a "free economy," and removed all price controls except those on rents, rice and sugar. Butter, steak and chops hovered at $1.00 per pound; soap products prices rose sharply, (in theory; in practice, soap was not available); General Motors announced a $100 increase in the price of passenger cars.

Second-hand cars were scarce and over-priced; 1946 models were generally

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not available; there was little new machinery; eight-penny nails and other building materials were non-existent; rice and sugar (still controlled) were still "under the counter;" Yet the removal of price controls brought most foods back to the corner store, for those who could, or would, pay the prices. Christmas shoppers were finding a fair selection: this year, Santa, if he could afford it, could pass out aluminum pots and pans, hand-made lingerie, nylons and silk stockings, sports equipment and camera film.

Shoemaker in *The Chicago Daily News*
"—AND DON'T FORGET THE CHECK!"

THE GOOD OLD DAYS?

Serious-minded Republican legislators were not aware of the perils ahead. Not since March, 1933, when President Roosevelt began to use executive emergency power to fight depression, had the nation's economy been so nearly regulated by supply and demand. The National Recovery Administration, the P.W.A. and the W.P.A., the A.A.A., legislation to control the stock market, labor conditions and labor unions, all preceded our entry into the Second World War. After war was declared, an even greater control over the country's economy had been introduced. Price controls had been established on 80 per cent of consumer's goods. Wage ceilings had been set by executive edict. Government allocations and government contracts controlled industry.

A main feature of the new Republican program will be a resolution declaring that the war is at an end. Such a resolution will sharply decrease the powers still held by President Truman (under the Second War Powers Act and as Commander-in-Chief); all government wartime controls will be terminated; the Congress will regain more power over Federal policies, the States will receive back their "Constitutional powers."

Republican legislators hope to reduce the current budget from $41,500,000,000 to $30,000,000,000 for the next fiscal year, cutting appropria-

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tions for the armed forces and dropping non-recurring items. At the same time, rumors of a 2 per cent reduction in taxes "all across the board" are rife, though it is believed that the 20 per cent cut will be applied to personal income taxes only, with congressmen treading wearly in the field of corporate taxes.

Republican leaders are less definite when it comes to the perennial labor problem. On the outside looking in, it was relatively easy to call errors: inside, labor is harder to handle. It is expected that the new Congress will modify the Wagner Act and it may revive part of the Case bill. But the newly-elected have not forgotten that a disgruntled labor vote helped return them to power.

Whatever the end result of a decontrolled economy, there were more than a few signs that this winter would see another five per cent increase in the cost of living and another round of crippling strikes.

BLACK DIAMONDS

Since 1941, John L. Lewis' coal miners had left the mines eight times: since 1941, the miners had won eight victories over the mine operators or the government. Bituminous coal provides 95 per cent of all locomotive power in the United States, 55 per cent of industrial energy, 62 per cent of electric power. (The mere threat of a strike in November caused the government to order a 25 per cent decrease in railroad passanger service). However unpopular John L. might be with the country, the administration and his own union members, there was no denying that the rank and file of the UMW would obey his orders. Even in wartime, neither President Roosevelt nor President Truman had been able to beat Lewis. After the six-week mine shutdown last April had seriously dislocated all American industry, President Truman had seized the mines and appointed Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug as Coal Mines Administrator. The contract under which the miners had worked since May 29 had given them a wage increase, a five cent per ton levy for a "welfare and retirement fund," a vacation pay raise. Although the government was anxious to return the mines to private ownership, the owners (Southern) had refused to accept the terms of this contract. On October 21, Mr. Lewis demanded a conference (by November 1) to negotiate a new contract, asserting that the government had violated the vacation and welfare clauses of the old contract.

According to Mr. Lewis, the contract with the government carried over the cancellation clause of the previous contract with the owners; according to the White House (and, belatedly, the Attorney General's Office), there was no legal cancellation clause in the Krug-Lewis agreement. While Lewis prepared for a walkout at the announced November 20 contract termination, the government filed suit to prosecute the mine leader. An injunction was served on Mr. Lewis on November 18, restraining him from calling the walkout and threatening drastic legal action.

The November 18 injunction represents the first legal action taken by

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the government against Lewis since 1920. At that time, under the prolonged war emergency after the last war, President Wilson's Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, instituted an injunction proceeding against the already powerful labor leader. Although Lewis protested the use of war powers in 1920, he called the strike off with the comment: "I will not strike against the government."

During the war years, Lewis and his mine workers were too important militarily and politically to risk a showdown, in the eyes of the administration. Today, a severe coal shortage will not endanger the lives of overseas soldiers. Nor could it do much harm to the already failing Democratic coalition; nor, in the last analysis, to Harry Truman's 1948 Nomination chances. If Truman could make Lewis yield the Republicans would be ahead of the game. If not—they started hedging early, criticizing Truman's display of executive power, his yachting while the crisis mounted.

NO CONTRACT?

John L. Lewis ignored the court order and let 400,000 miners leave the pits by midnight, November 20, according to their practice of "no contract, no work." A long and bitter fight shaped up in the courts and in the mines. While President Truman asked the Justice Department to start contempt proceedings against Lewis, the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. delegates, meeting in Atlantic City, passed a resolution: "We condemn the action taken by the Federal Government in obtaining a sweeping injunction against the United Mine Workers of America. This is a clear violation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. No anti-labor injunctions can dispose of the problems now confronting workers who see their earnings shrink before the fast-rising cost of living. American democracy cannot tolerate any attempt to impose ecenomic slavery through vicious anti-labor injunctions." And William Green issued a statement, declaring: "Neither troops with bayonets, nor court injunctions, nor incarceration of miners or their representatives in jail can serve to produce one single ton of coal."

"THERE IS NO DEFENSE"

What with the rising cost of living, the coal strike and Christmas shopping, the average American had little time to think of the atom bomb. It began to look as though the Terror would pass its second birthday before any one got down to discipline. On November 17, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists launched a drive to let the public know six simple truths about atomic warfare. The committee is headed by Dr. Albert Einstein, discoverer of the basic formula that made the bomb possible; Vice President Harold C. Urey, Professors Seling Hecht of Columbia University, Hans A. Bethe of Cornell, Thorfin R. Hogness and Leo Szilard of the University of Chicago, Philip M. Morse and Victor F. Weisskopf of M.I.T. and Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology.

As Dr. Einstein explained: "Our efforts have their origin in a feeling of the heavy responsibility which physicists have taken upon themselves by the creation of the atom bomb."

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FORUM FEATURES

Colston Warne, President of the Consumer's Union and Professor of Economics at Amherst College, returns to the pages of **FORUM** in the December issue with a discussion of the origins, the course, and the possible remedies of the present spiral of wages and prices. Professor Warne attempts to answer the question in the minds of most Americans today . . . "Can we meet rising living costs from existing wage and salary standards?"

Miss Louise Overacker, who is Professor of Political Science at Wellesley College, has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to study the Australian party system. Miss Overacker's interesting article on the Labor victory in Australia's post-war election came to us by air from Sydney.

"The test of a revival theatre is essentially how well the stage manages to bring to life a moribund classic; how well it deals with refractory material; not how well it revives something that has not yet been interred within the covers of an anthology." **John Gassner** of the Theatre Guild launches a discussion of the revival theatre on Broadway mentioning José Ferrer's success **Cyrano de Bergerac, The Front Page** and **Lady Windermere's Fan,** but in particular he discusses the Paul Czinner-Elizabeth Bergner production of John Webster's tragedy, **The Duchess of Malfi.**

Mr. Gassner has recently appeared on "Broadway Talks Back", a program on the Mutual network. Radio listeners throughout the country have heard in part some of the enlightened drama criticism which appears every month in **FORUM.**

Throughout the year **FORUM** will bring you "Pressure Groups in Action", searching analysis of the special interest groups at work in our society. The first of these articles appears in the December issue—"The N.A.M." by **Nancy Mayo Waterman.**

Next month **FORUM** will present interesting articles on the Japanese labor organization by **Mark Starr** and a study of Argentina by **Allison Williams Bunkley,** correspondent in Buenos Aires for **Newsweek.**

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